CANADA
A
MODERN
NATION

BY

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THE OLD KING.

"Sloven, sullen, savage, secret, uncontrolled—
Laying on a new land evil of the old;
Long-forgotten bondage, dwarfing heart and brain—
All our fathers died to loose, he shall bind again.
Here is naught at venture, random nor untrue—
Swings the wheel full-circle, brims the cup anew."

Kipling—The Old Issue.

CANADA, A MODERN NATION.

CHAPTER I.

THE SIBYLLINE OFFER.

The reflections that follow are addressed to Canadians, as the thoughts of one concerning common interests. We love our fascinating, generous land, which produces no poor or oppressed; and our open-hearted people, who are going forward to a future so magnificent as our present seems to paint. We rejoice in our descent from the highest races of the world; in our history, our freedom, our progress, our opportunities of education; the strength, the courage and the limitless resources which promise so much. We have each our dream of what shall be when that promise is fulfilled, of the limitless prairies populated, all the forests put to use, and all the gigantic mines developed, of a majestic nation more great than any now upon the globe,—of order, peace and happiness to hundreds of millions.

Yet, do we ever stop to ask ourselves what manner of life that people will live, and whether, notwithstanding all its material might, it will be a good or an ill life for those who are to live it ? Whether, when grown old, our nation is but to suffer all the evils of the nations we see grown old to-day ? Whether poverty, misery, unremunerative toil, neglect, ignorance, class contempt, domination by capitalistic or other greed and fraud, landlorism, servitude, privilege, drink, war, the social evil, crime, corruption, public peculation, and the host of associated iils, are to become, as a matter of course, the lot of our land and people as they are now in fact those of others ? Whether worse slaveries, indeed, are not the lot which threatens us? And if we do not like that thought, whether there seems any escape seeing that the process of nation-making, as it is in course of proceeding here, is the same as it is with those others, to wit: by no better law than haphazard.

For instance, take the trade question.

Does the unrestricted power of forming private trade corporations tend naturally to any other result than the mastery of our commerce, and, therefore, of our army of manufacturing labor, by an oligarchy in the form of a series of trusts ?

Can the unrestricted power of acquiring land in private hands end naturally in any other way than in control of the whole of our

land, and thereby of the agriculturists and tenants, by a similar small oligarchy, as it has done in Great Britain and Ireland ?

Do not these processes tend to the old poverty of the crowd, the old starvation, the old helplessness, the old unhappiness, and the old vices which accompany them, and with them the old reign of greed, of force and of war ?

Do they not tend also to the old rule of privilege and the settlement of unfair distribution of the power, the honors and the goods of life?—the death of ambition, the death of manliness, the loss of rights, careers and liberties?

Are there sufficient natural counterpoises to these processes in the labor revolts, the trades-unions, the sporadic charities, the economic revolutions, or even the educational systems, of our day ? Does it appear that they are satisfactory as cures, or that we should wait until remedies are produced by the diseases themselves ?

Are we not drifting on to the results described by de Laveleye:

"The destiny of modern democracies is already written in the history of ancient democracies. It was the struggle between the rich and the poor which destroyed them, just as it will destroy modern societies unless they guard against it. In Greece, equal rights were granted to all the citizens. But ancient legislators did not fail to recognize the fundamental truth, so constantly repeated by Aristotle, that liberty and democracy cannot exist without equality of conditions.....But all their precautions were insufficient to check the progress of inequality ; and then the social struggle began, pitting against each other the two classes almost as far separate in their interests as two rival nations, just as we see it in England and Germany at the present day. Note the ominous words of Plato, 'Each of the Greek states is not really a single state, but comprises at least two: one composed of the rich, the other of the poor.' As the poor enjoyed political rights, they sought to turn them to account to establish equality ; at one time they imposed all the taxes on the rich, at another they confiscated the goods of the latter and condemned the owners to death and exile. The wealthy classes naturally took every means to defend themselves, even having recourse to arms. Hence,, there were constant social wars.....Inequality therefore, was the cause of the downfall of democracy in Greece. Rome presents the same picture.....A disinherited proletariat replaces the class of small citizen-proprietors who were the very marrow of the republic. There was no longer a Roman nation ; there remained but the rich and the poor, attacking and execrating each other. Finally, out of the enmity of the classes rose, as is always the case, despotism."

"At the present moment modern societies are met by the problem

which antiquity failed to solve ; and we scarcely seem to comprehend its gravity, in spite of the sinister events occurring around us. The situation, however, is far more critical nowadays than ever it was in Greece or Rome.....In the author's opinion, modern democracies will only escape the destiny of ancient democracies by adopting laws such as shall secure the distribution of property among a large number of holders, and shall establish a very general equality of conditions."*

We have one inestimable advantage over ancient lands in dealing with these evils. We have in our power what is better than cure,—prevention.

The thinking people of Great Britain know well what is wrong in their landed system. If they could begin anew as we can, they would take measures to prevent the monopolization of land ; but they are tied hand and foot by their settled institutions. We have ours still to settle. We, ourselves, the people, and not an oligarchy, are still the full proprietors of the vast proportion of our acreage and resources. We can prevent their monopolization, here and now. What would the thinkers of Britain not give for such a privilege ! It is this which is the reason why many observers have noted in us a "cheery optimism" which they contrast with the settled pessimism prevalent in Europe.

Now, what is the use of our having this advantage of the experiences and conclusions of all history before us, if we idly allow it to slip by, in place of giving these matters close and due popular study all over the country, and trying to begin where the experiences of the past leave off: in other words, putting together for ourselves, acting upon, all the precious lessons of modern economics. Such conduct would be demanded in manufacturing; it would be required in journalism and education ; it is the business-like and reasonable course.

"Our older societies," writes de Laveleye, "can only arrive at an order more in accordance with justice and christianity, after a series of social struggles in which liberty may succumb ; but the younger societies still in process of formation in another hemisphere may escape these fearful trials if they seek inspiration in the lessons of history."

Here, then, is the appeal which it is the object of these lines to make to the Canadian people: That we should bring ourselves up to the standard of a true MODERN NATION, impregnated with the study and practice of the advanced modern ideals,—the "long results of time."

The point of view from and the spirit in which we ought to con-

*Primitive Property, pp. xxvii seq. (Macmillan & Co., London.)

sider this matter is worth a moment's thought. The point of view is that of Canadian nationality ; the spirit, that of patriotism.

Canadian nationality we know in its concrete form, in multitudinous daily expressions, in the newspapers, in public speeches, in conversations among all classes, where it is taken as a natural fact, so that we have ceased to question, as we used to do in the early days of Confederation, whether the existence of Canadian national feeling was a sort of treason to the wider fraternity of the Empire. The cause of its development is the clearness with which it has daily become more and more apparent that nearly all the affairs of our people are such as only we and none others can possibly manage for us. The separation of our territory by the seas from the rest of the Empire, renders us a self-contained community, whose interests cannot be understood, nor practically handled, by any others than ourselves. A good illustration was the management of the Alaska Treaty by the Home Cabinet, who, although starting with the best of intentions, and applying a measure of ability which cannot be denied, brought it to a deplorable bungle from sheer want of familiarity with local conditions and considerations, so that the demand has gone forth, and must for the same reason be complied with, that in the future, Canadian treaty matters be carried out by a Canadian personnel, subject to any reasonable safeguards to the Empire. In our more properly internal affairs, the principle has long been beyond a shadow of argument. Here, then, is the sphere of nationality, and one not antagonistic to that external sphere of historic mutual loyalty and large alliance for peace, progress and humanity which we delight to call by the name, Our Empire. As Canadians, we do not cease to be Britons, and, it is to be trusted, never will, but the Empire cannot solve for us our internal problems.

It is therefore a Canadian national work which we have before us in the modernizing of our conditions ; in doing it we must seriously regard ourselves as bound together in a brotherhood of citizens, to which we have special responsibilities.

The spirit called patriotism also demands a brief consideration, lest we find ourselves attempting to labor on false lines. At the patriotism somtimes defined as "Our country, right or wrong," any strictly honorable man will surely revolt. It had its origin in days of illiteracy, when few were competent to judge of their country's quarrels or of any complicated ethical considerations whatever. Our fathers then knew no greater responsibilities than that blind loyalty to their kin, which is so admirable in itself. Alone and

undimmed by fraud or greed, it is the noble form of untutored affection expressed in Scott's:

"This is my own, my native land,"

which has been in all ages the spring of many of the most unselfish deeds of man.

But, after all, true patriotism, whether conscious or instinctive, is not the narrow prejudice against aliens; not the unthinking attachment to a locality or an institution; not the mere swelling of the breast at some bars of familiar melody; nor the barbaric triumph at some butchery of our enemies, nor the vain glory of comparisons with other peoples in vastness of territory and number of souls. Patriotism is nothing else than duty,—our duty to faithfully advance the true interests, the fair rights, and the happiness of each of our brother-citizens, and of the whole of them united as the national organism. If we throw all the warmth of our hearts, and all the energies of which the cause is worthy, all our conscience and sentiment of justice, into this plain, but immense and fruitful sphere, the phases of it will take of themselves their rightful shapes, and we shall find ourselves true patriots. We need in Canada such a reasoned patriotism if we are to rightly pursue the new ideals. We must turn our hearts from national purse-pride, the mere boast of size and force; from national greed and covetousness, the lust of conquest; from national bullyism, the dreams of military glory and domination; from all the mean contests of diplomacy; from national malevolence, the hatred of other peoples, for we should wish welfare to them just as we should wish to man; from all desire to do to any of them other than what a fair and honorable individual would do with his neighbor. We must develop the devotion called *public spirit*, beginning with the children in our schools, and this public spirit must be clean and national in its conceptions of the nation's work and duty; and the young should be taught this passion to serve the state, and the pure happiness that lies in that passion. Then only shall we be able to move securely on in the task of building up the Modern Nation. We are not without some of the material for the task to-day. Thank Heaven for the many noble schoolmasters in our land; for the faithful clergy, the large number of honorable men in Parliament, and the innumerable pure-souled women and men throughout our country ready to follow the banner of public weal!

The present book proposes to picture, on the lines of such patriotism, some of the leading elements of the conception of a Modern Nation.

A MODERN LAND POLICY.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORICAL WARNING

Lessons of History.

A.—Unlimited private ownership will inevitably bring us to great land monopolies, and consequent disinheritance of the people at large.

B.—Our land supply will be rapidly exhausted.

C.—If we would save our future, we must reform the defects of this tenure, and husband our estate.

The most urgent subject falling under our discussion is Land,—although not the most vital, for that is Education.

There is none which more requires our immediate study as a people, than our land tenures,—none to which it is a more crying duty of our thoughtful classes to turn their attention. The influence of the tenure of land upon national well-being has been shown in the history of every single civilized community. It is impossible that it should be otherwise. It has been so from ancient Egypt down to the United States. The fellaheen of the Nile Valley were slavish because the land did not belong to them ; the Russian peasant was a serf, and is largely a semi-savage, because the land was owned by the nobles; with the gradual consolidation of farms in England the independent qualities of the sturdy yeomanry of the ages of cheap land, passed in large part to New England and later to the new colonies; in Scotland, the grasping of the ancient clan lands by greedy nobles, and their ejectment of the clansmen to make room for sheep and game, robbed the country of all that manhood which has led with such energy the making of Canada. We should know the story well, because it is the story of the ancestors of many of our people, who would look with loathing and scorn on the miserable system if they saw it in the life here. The case of Ireland and its land troubles is very familiar. That of ancient Rome is not so familiar, but is striking. The simple story of Cincinnatus, the general, who was found at the plow, but illustrates the early condition of the whole of the Italian peoples,—communities of small agriculturists, brought up in strength, simplicity and independence.

In later times, under the Empire, influential persons rented, usurped, and at length permanently acquired, large tracks belonging to the whole people, and established throughout Italy a regime of

vast estates or *latifundia*, which they peopled with slaves from the East, and in consequence the sturdy Italian warrior races disappeared and effeminate Rome at length fell before her enemies.

In France, a striking change followed the transfer from the seigneurs to the peasantry. The famous agricultural writer, Arthur Young, a man of careful detail and absolute openness, had passed through as an observer in 1787-8, noting down the conditions of the country from Province to Province and place to place. In 1792, just after the Revolution (with whose bloody episodes in the cities he had no sympathy), he felt curious to learn the effect of the changes, and therefore made enquiries from many French sources, comparing them with his own notes. His conclusion was that "the result of the whole enquiry cannot but induce temperate men to conclude.....that the advantages derived to the nation are of the very first importance and such as must inevitably secure to it, as long as they continue, an uncommon degree of prosperity."

In Great Britain to-day the intense misery and poverty of a tenth of the nation are connected with the facts that a fifth of the country is in the hands of some five hundred persons; one-half of Scotland in that of ten or twelve; more than two-thirds of the two countries are owned by five thousand peers and commoners, averaging ten thousand acres each; and the monopoly of landed property is ever becoming greater and more exclusive. The Duke of Sutherland's territories (robbed less than a century ago from thousands of small proprietors) are sufficient, if put together, to enable him to walk forty-six miles in any direction on "his own" land. The Duke of Buccleuch holds 460,000 acres and draws a revenue of nearly £250,000 a year; and many other individuals stand in similar positions. The results appear in many wretched conditions, economic and social, to which the typical Canadian would never willingly permit his fellow-countrymen, his descendants or himself to be submitted.

Let him walk through any part of rural England. Everywhere are silent prohibitions and rigid walls of exclusion. The small towns have few parks, the people few privileges. The generous freedoms of Canada with the land are unknown, and enquiring deeper there is everywhere the flattering and debasing system of caste. It is as graphically described by Richard Whiteing in "The Yellow Van":—"The feudal system has come down to you without a break, except in its forms, and the new one is worse than the old. The old lord had his duties, and he paid for the right of owning his fellow-creatures by finding men and money for the service of the state. The new one has only his rights.....How much is left now? Every inch is mapped and owned—and come if you dare! Saxon and Norman lords in the fulness of power were

not in it with the landowner of to-day. He has got you, body and soul. The parson is actually his nominee and often his poor relation. The farmers are his tenants at will and possibly his debtors. The trades people of the village rent under him and even if they don't they can be ruined by his frown. The laborers live in his cottages and are absolutely at his mercy."

Grant Allen, our countryman, who wrote and died in England, was sick and contemptuous of the dull blight of the system.

II.

We can learn much from these misfortunes of the old world, but may take closer warning from the new. "Great quantities of public land," says Professor J. E. Le Rossignol,* "have been given to railway companies. The Northern Pacific received 48,000,000 acres. The Union Pacific and the Central Pacific received $25,000 a mile and over 30,000,000 acres of land. In all, the United States Government has given 211,890,489 acres of land for the encouragement of railway building." But besides the United States Government, the different States, especially Texas, holding large bodies of land in their own right, granted about 100,000,000 acres to railways before 1880, making in all over 300,000,000. † These lands were usually selected by the company itself and therefore were of the nation's best. Large and valuable portions of them have been personally grabbed by the promoters and others.

Of the prairie regions of the West, an American Professor wrote in 1891: "There the owners of farms leave them for the reason that they can obtain sufficient rent from tenants to enable them to support their families in towns.....The result of this is the formation of a distinct peasant class such as is found in Bavaria and Bohemia." "Thus," comments Josiah Strong, ‡ "one result of this immigration is the development of an ignorant rural peasantry and a class of absentee landlords," and, quotes Strong again,** Mr. D. A. Wells says that it "is coming to be the opinion of many of the best authorities, both in the United States and Europe, that the only possible future for agriculture is to be found in large farms, worked with ample capital, especially in the form of machinery, and with labor organized somewhat after the factory system."

H. H. Lusk, ex-New Zealand parliamentarian, and now American

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*Monopolies Past and Present, P. 148, Crowell, N.Y.

† Internat. Ry. Guide, Jan. 1903.

‡ The New Era, P. 173. § Ib. P. 159.

citizen, in "Our Foes at Home" (Doubleday, N.Y., 1899), which I shall quote later in another connection, says:—

"It was when the first proposal of a little band of capitalists to stake their dollars against the future value of vast tracts of the public estate, and to supply railway transportation for the people on condition of receiving a large slice of the people's inheritance was accepted, that the new era of national extravagance fairly began. At the time no doubt the bargain appeared to the people and the Government of the country to be a good one. The land was of little apparent value then. If the speculators intended to profit by the transaction, it seemed clear that they must find settlers to buy the land, and at least it seemed clear that nobody would be the loser. Nobody can deny that the arguments were plausible. The new era of monopolies for the few and increasing poverty for the many—the era of millionairism—was ushered in by arguments like these." . . . .

"What the capitalists have sought most of all has been control; and it is this which the short-sighted policy of the people and the legislators of America has given into their hands. To grasp the riches of the West at their source in the form of lands fit for agriculture or in that of mineral treasures for later development was the object of the railway kings, and this object they have gained at no expense to themselves. The process may, from one point of view, appear to have been a gradual one, but from another, and, perhaps, a true one, it has been amazingly rapid. In the life of an individual forty years seems long, but in the history of a people it is but a point of time. Yet the last forty years has been long enough to change the social, and with them, to a large extent, the political conditions of America more completely and radically than a revolution. Half a century ago, America, with its untold wealth of virgin land, was free to all comers. It was blazoned abroad that in America alone, of all the countries of the world, men were not only free but also equal. If this were true fifty years ago, the new era has changed all that. It has done so in various ways, no doubt, but to a very great extent, it has done so in consequence of the country's dealings with the land. In older countries separate classes have existed for many centuries, and the distinctions between them have been rigid and almost impassible; the basis upon which all of them have rested has been the possession of the land. Every aristocracy which was not a territorial one, such as the oligarchies of Genoa and Venice, in the Middle Ages, has been short-lived; none of them all ever amassed a landed estate so imperial in its extent or so magnificent in its prospective value as that which the railway magnates of America have filched from the people in less than half a century. Armies

have been slaughtered, nations decimated and reduced to serfdom in former times, in a warfare, carried on for generations, in the effort to secure for the conquerors the lordship of a territory far less expensive than the millionaires of America obtained without striking a blow, and, in effect, without paying a dollar. The bargain, it is true was made by or for the people—but it was of all bargains ever made the most unfair and one-sided. The people were to have a railroad which the capitalists were to contruct; but there the people's advantage wholly ceased. The capitalists were to own the railroad when it was made; they were to fix the charges to all intents and purposes to suit themselves; they were also to own all the best of the lands through which the railroad ran, and so to control both the traffic and the settlers. Thus America installed her first great monopoly; thus her own people established the great father of all American trusts. For the rule is universal and without exception, that on the land of each country depends the wealth of its people, because it is the one possession on which all the comfort and well-being of the people depend. The class which controls the land must in the end control the people, and if that class is a small minority the government of the nation becomes an oligarchy."

I have in my hands an account of the great estates recently acquired by well-known millionaires of the United States. Their histories are singularly like those of the acquisitions of land by capitalists in Great Britain, only they are more rapidly carried out Beautiful lakes are acquired and hemmed in from the neighboring villages. Vast estates are put under the keeping of game-keepers. Tenantries are established and castles built.

CHAPTER III.

OUR LANDED ESTATE.

We are the owners of a territory estimated at nearly 3,750,000 square miles. This huge national estate, which it takes the sun three hours and a half to cross, we measure roughly by the phrase "about as large as Europe," (3,756,770), and investigation shows that we might fairly add "about as rich in resources." Without discussing details, it may be said that, at least, as a home for white men, the Dominion has only two rivals in extent and richness of territory—the Russian Empire and the United States.

Let us examine the proposition.

Only a few countries are in the comparison (excluding the British Empire as not being a single territory). They are: the Chinese Empire, Brazil, the Argentine, Australia, British South Africa, the Russian Empire and the United States. India and Turkey are hardly in this class.

In the Chinese Empire (4,278,000), the fertility of the one-fourth which constitutes China proper,—possibly the richest piece of territory on the globe—is offset by the equally large Desert of Gobi, the most frightful region of sterility on the globe, and in addition great reductions are requisite for Thibet and Chinese Turkestan, so that after all it does not stand so well as it might in the comparison, and, except for the double crops which are possible in its southern portions, I do not think it could quite compare for extent of good land, with ours, as will presently be shown.

Of Brazil (3,219,000), although so vast and fertile, we cannot expect much, unless the conditions of living in tropical countries should ultmately be changed, as they might be. (We have a conviction that revolutionary improvements in agricultural machinery will come, which will totally alter the capacity of tropical regions for supporting white populations; but until then, white men cannot flourish throughout the greater extent of that hot land.)

The recent experiences of our volunteers have shown that South Africa (800,000 square miles) is not only very much smaller, but, on the whole, far inferior to Canada in rainfall and other necessary advantages. It is, so far, a "black man's land" by twelve to one. And, still, it is a noble heritage, heightening by comparison the opportunity of the Canadian people.

The Argentine Republic (1,113,849 square miles), is a magnificent competitor. Though arid in parts, its principal plains are as great and fertile as the whole of Central and Western Europe. This is a home of the white man, with a fine climate, or rather range of climates, as varied as those of the United States; enorm-

ous rivers, easy access to the sea, and every promise of an interesting future. Still, it does not, with all its advantages, apparently at all equal the Dominion, which has three times its extent to come and go on.

Australia, our brilliant sister of the Southern Cross (3,000,000 square miles), suffers so great a loss by her preponderant interior desert and serious droughts, that even her phenomenal golden drifts and other sources of wealth fail to place her in the same rank as we, as owners of a field for national activity. Her fertility compared with ours was estimated lately at fifteen per cent.

There remain then for comparison the Russian Empire and the United States.

The extent of the former (8,660,000 square miles), is almost appalling, considering the fact that it is self-contained and dominates both Europe and Asia. Like Canada, it has a huge band of northern frost, and in the south large prairies. It has not yet been shown that it comprises any wide region approaching the best 200,000 square miles (128,000,000 acres) of our Western Plains; although about 600,000,000 acres of European Russia are registered as "good," of which about 250,000,000 are under crop; and although even Siberia,—though largely barren in the north, and the coldest country in the world,—contains immense tracts of fertile lands and useful forests, its famous "black earth-prairies alone being estimated at 25,000,000 acres. Siberia's northern half is far more severely cold and barren than any part of Canada; it has no such immense boons as the Chinook breezes from the warm Pacific, and Hudson Bay, with its tempering waters; aridity extends over an immense proportion; and a considerably greater proportion of it is in the Arctic than of Canada! So that this Empire, even with its considerable superiority in bulk over Canada, and its similarity in many respects, is possibly, taken all in all, not so suitable a home for a people.

We now come to the last and most interesting comparison—that with the United States (2,970,000 square miles). The true test of national value in a territory is its power to support population. Hence agricultural possibilities stand immeasurably beyond all others, such as those of mining, hunting, fishing, tourist-trade or manufacturing. Nevada, for example, the fame of whose silver output has been so much before the world, only supports a population of 45,000. An application of the principle appears in a broad fact, not very well-realized by the public;—that one block comprising about two-fifths of the land within the United States* is, for

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* H. Foster Bain, of U. S. Geolog. Survey, "Booklovers' Mag." Jan., 1904.

the most part, unfit for agriculture. Two-fifths make about 750,000,000 acres ;—of which the Government experts hope to see reclaimed by irrigation from 60,000,000 to 100,000,000 ; leaving one-third of the entire Union irreclaimable.

In other language, the entire west, including most of the two Dakotas, the western portions of Nebraska and Kansas, most of Texas, and all the States and Territories between them and the Pacific, except Western Washington, Western California and Western Oregon are arid, except in cases, smitten by deficient rainfall. and incapable of any great comparative agricultural development. The optimism of the Americans blinked these facts until quite recently, and their full extent is not generally known even yet, except to numerous disappointed farmers who have been led by the false representations of agents to locate beyond the limits of sufficient rainfall in Western Minnesota, the Dakotas, Kansas and Nebraska.

Fortunately, it is only the vanishing fringe of the influence of defective rainfall which reaches into Canada, and that in a greatly mitigated form of semi-aridity. The region affected is not injured for stock-farming, as the grasses are magnificent and retain their juices in the brief, dry seasons. The entire area, which is situated in southwestern Assiniboia and Alberta, from 52° north latitude to the American frontier, is estimated at 64,000,000 acres,* of which about fifteen per cent., or 10,000,000 acres are estimated to be reclaimable by irrigation, (which has the effect of rendering them the highest class of crop-bearing land). And as an equal amount of the grass lands can be associated with these in the form of mixed farms, the remainder of some 44,000,000 acres remain as a rich grazing country, with mild climate and magnificent soil. As the semi-aridity is a gradual thing, also, it is expected that in time, a considerable portion will still be cultivated at a profit.

Just north of this "semi-arid" region, the prairies of the Saskatchewan Valley comprehend, in one magnificent region, the finest single stretch of agricultural lands in the world—the Fertile Belt—extending well over to the foothills of the Rockies, and binding Canada together transcontinentally, just where the States must always be weak in population.

The North-West farming area thus indicated is described in the "Atlas of Western Canada" as 400 miles north and south, and 900 miles east and west, and embracing an area of 359,000 square miles, (230,400,000 acres, from which deduct water). "If we draw a line through Harper's Ferry, from the northern boundary of Pennsyl-

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* Dominion Irrigation Report, 1903.

vania to the southern line of Virginia and take all west of that line to the Missouri River, embracing part of the States named and all of West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Illinois, Missouri and Iowa, we shall have an American territory equal in extent and area and in no wise superior in agricultural resources."

The description just given is safe. The Canadian territory is far the richer of the two, a great proportion of the soil being very deep.

When it comes to inventorizing the contents more exactly, however, estimates have differed widely. An estimate of 200,000,000 acres of good farming land has been currently used; but the distinguished expert who was its author prefers not to press his estimate as more than a round figure, and meant to include, not only lands fit for crops, but likewise those capable of raising stock. Miss Agnes Laut* has published an estimate of 260,000,000 "arable" acres, but including Athabasca. Her words are "In Manitoba and the North-West Territories, are 384,000,000 acres. Of this, 71,000,000 acres have been homesteaded and assigned to syndicates; 50,000,000 acres consist of water and barrens; 260,000,000 acres are arable."

A well-informed railway authority recently gave the figures as 300,000,000.

Professor Saunders, of the Dominion Experimental Farm, who has driven by vehicle about 5,000 miles in various parts of the region, calculates, as far as his experience and information go, "a total of 171,000,000 acres, which, it is believed, can be regarded as profitable farming lands," in this part of the North-West alone, without entering Athabaska, to wit: in Manitoba, 27,000,000; Assinaboia, 50,000,000; Saskatchewan, 52,000,000; Alberta, 42,000,000.†

About 75,000,000 acres are regarded by the Deputy Minister of Agriculture of Manitoba, Hugh McKellar, Esq., (on an extremely conservative basis), as the cream of the whole, that is to say, "lands to-day ready and fit for settlement similar to what has been occupied and cultivated in Manitoba and the Territories. "He omits "pasture lands, wood lands or mountains," irrigable lands, foothills, swamps and everything north of the Saskatchewan River; the latter because not accurately known. His figures were carefully considered with Mr. Griffin, C. P. R. Land Commissioner at Winnipeg, an acknowledged authority. The figures are:—Manitoba, 23,000,000; Assiniboia, 19,000,000; Saskatchewan, 17,000,000; Alberta 16,000,000.‡

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* "Century Magazine," Jan. 1903.
† Letter to the writer, Dec. 1903.
‡Letter to the writer, Dec., 1903.

The margin of divergence between the current estimates should be a warning against deceiving ourselves as to our true position. It is also evidence that there is a pressing, immediate need of a rough general survey of our national agricultural estate, and of a special Dominion Land Commission to guide it. I will venture to now urge that upon the Government.

However, for the moment, leaving aside the question of the "cream," I would accept as fair and moderate the rough estimate of 200,000,000 acres of good "farming land" in the North-West, including the Peace River country.

When, in addition, we consider the 16,000,000 acres of the lately investigated clay belt of Ontario, running east and west, like a long fish, north of Lake Nepigon, between the Ottawa River and Manitoba, of the soundness of which I have the best private assurances, the 23,000,000 of occupied farm lands of Ontario; the 15,000,000 of occupied farm lands in the province of Quebec; the approximately 25,000,000 good acres unoccupied in the valleys of the Ottawa, St. Maurice and Saguenay, and many other similar tracts, it is easy to see that another 150,000,000 acres of a high quality of arable land can easily be found in the Dominion without passing north of Lake Arthabaska or the lower end of James Bay, and all in hardy, livable, white man's country. The figure seems to me very conservative.

Thus far, we have been speaking of a high quality of cultivable acres. But on this continent we have been spoilt by abundance. In Western Europe, on the contrary, we find that lands our farmers would reject at once as totally useless, are prized and laboriously developed. A highly experienced Swedish gentleman, driving with me through the Laurentian Mountains, remarked on the luxuriance of the grasses by the wayside. "Land which would produce such grasses with us," said he, "although you despise it here, would be considered of our best." Yet discontented farmers were leaving that district for virgin river bottoms elsewhere. And when, in parts of France, I have seen the toilsome cultivation of rocky hillsides by building lines of terraces with stones, the future of our own country has become plain. North of the best of our country agriculturally, there is to be found, from Labrador to the Pacific the vastest forest on the globe, 1,400,000,000 acres, teeming with support for our industrious population, although to a less populous degree. Finally, more northward still, are the grassy plains of the Mackenzie Basin, wonderfully suited for summer grazing and haying in the future and for the growth of such crops as take the place of wild grasses. Twelve hundred miles north of the boundary line, barley and potatoes are successfully grown, and the limit of wheat

was recently pushed north six hundred miles by the introduction of one new variety.

But on the far less extreme basis, we have enormous quantities of third and fourth-rate arable land, which might be estimated at double the figure of the best class above described. Adding them gives an estimate of 1,050,000,000 arable acres* in Canada. Compare this calculation with that of 1,300,000 square miles recently given in "Progressive Canada," (832,000,000 acres), and Sir Oliver Mowat's estimate of 500,000 square miles of wheat lands and 1,000,000 of timber and grass lands. (Speech, Niagara, 1892). The same for the United States has been variously estimated at from 1,500,000,000 upwards, but much of which requires black field labor. It seems fair then to say that our country seriously approaches the capacity of the United States for bearing a white population. It is a noble and almost matchless inheritance. Of the whole of it, we hold ninety-six per cent. in common or national ownership; and, of the best of it, something like half, and thus we still control its future tenure to that extent, although it is rapidly passing out of our hands; and most of the cream of it has gone. We are the wealthiest people at present on the globe; and are, for the time being, the most fortunately situated; just as the Americans were a hundred years ago. We have a far better opportunity than they, because we have their experience and the learning of the world, which has since accumulated.

The capacity of such a territory for supporting population is bewildering. China is the land where the number of persons which a soil can support has been most fully demonstrated.

The latest reliable estimate of the density of agricultural population there is given by Dr. Arthur Smith in his work, "The Chinese Village." Within a given radius of three miles, in a typical district of Northern China, the number was found at a low calculation, to be 2,129 to the square mile, or over three to the acre. "There are thousands of square miles in Southern and Central Chih-li, Western and South-Western Shan-tung and Northern Honan," continues Dr. Smith, "where the villages are as thick as in this one tract, the contents of which we are thus able proximately to compute." Dr. McClure, the Canadian Northern China missionary, informs me that the districts where the counting was done are not rich for China. Those who are only accustomed to our methods of extensive cultivation—mere scratching of the land—are usually amused at anyone expecting so much of an acre. Those acquainted with the intensive system and the crowded life of Europe and the East, however, knew well that in another generation or two we must inevitably look at the matter in a differ-

ent way, as the Americans, whose available lands are all gone, are now finding it necessary to admit.

The Chinese agriculturist, in the regions on which the estimate is founded, raises a crop and a half per year, instead of only one crop, as we do. At the same time, it should be said that his crops are lessened by his ignorance of some of the advantages of rotation of crops, and of improved stocks of seed and fruit. He meets our advantage of improved machinery by his unremitting toil. He is considered to possess a comptence if he owns one acre. With care and frugality, one good acre of rice-land will support six persons,* but the average number is less because all land is not so good. At this rate of production and consumption, the 150,000,000 acres of best arable land in Canada, with a reduction of one-half its returns on account of its more northern latitude, would support 450,000,000 souls ; and if the remainder of the foregoing total estimate of 1,000,000,000 acres supported only an equal number, we have a total capacity of population in Canada of 900,000,000. Consequently, in looking over our country, say in observing from a railway train, we find our people in a position of universal comfort. We have no poor. We have a few unfortunates, but none who will work need starve, and those who cannot work are readily cared for. Domestic servants are scarce and independent, because of the prosperity of the country. A French-Canadian judge observed in France that even our poorer farmers live like " petits rois " in comparison with similar people in Europe.

Every little while we are astonished by some fresh discovery of our national wealth :—at one time it is the Fertile Belt; at another, the Peace River country ; at another, our Golden Klondike ; the pre-eminent lumber wealth of British Columbia ; the coal of Vancouver, of Fernie, of the Peace River, of the Crows' Nest and a score of other districts ; the unexplored forests and mines of Labrador and Hudson's Bay ; the control of the world's supply of paper pulp ; the control of the world's supply of nickel ; the Clay Belt of Ontario, the enormous value of our water powers, and a hundred other discoveries of the same prodigious nature, full of wonder and of satisfaction. This is our Golden Age.

And to what end do we hold this wealth in bank ? Is it for our luxury ? Can we use it at all ? No, let us look at it in the large-minded way, for the thoughts of a people so situated ought to be high. The purpose of those possessions is that they be used for necessity, not luxury—necessities—not ours, but those of the millions to come. And our honorable office is to hold and handle

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* Adele M. Fielde, " Popular Science Monthly," July, 1889.

them as trustees for those millions to be delivered to them safe and intact when ultimately required.

Sufficiently provided with material provision, with our limitless lands about us for crops, and hunting parks, let us live as those ought who are reasonably provided—lives honorable and proud, intellectual and spiritual, ordering our estate and affairs, both present and future, in these lights, and despising and refusing to be governed by the common money-grabbers, or to allow them to eat up our heritage.

CHAPTER IV.

DISSIPATION OF OUR LAND SUPPLY.

That our land supply, although so enormous, will not last forever, nor even a great while comparatively, especially as far as the best is concerned, is too obvious to require more than a brief consideration. It is not much longer than a dozen years since it was the boast of Americans that "Uncle Sam has a free farm for everyone of his children." (Perhaps nephews would have accorded better with his title ?)

The following news item from the New York "Christian Herald," of November 25th, 1903, is a sad commentary on that generous saying :—

"A Wild Rush for Land.—An extraordinary scene is described in a despatch from Crookston, Minn., to the daily press. It was that of a fierce struggle of excited men and women to obtain part of 500,000 acres of land which have been allotted by the Government Office in the Red Lake Indian Reservation. The excitement was more intense than any ever known before in the North-West, and the number of entries was larger than on any previous day. The prize claim fell to a girl from Minneapolis, who got a quarter section of valuable agricutural land, south of Red Lake, and about nine miles north of the Great Northern Railroad. She was much envied by her competitors, but she declares she would not undergo the experience again for a claim with twice the value. She was twice saved from fainting. A friend of hers was carried out unconscious and lost his claim. Several persons were carried out of the crowd and scores of others backed out rather than squeeze through. Applicants came in with hats lost, coats torn off and clothes wet with perspiration. One woman fainted and fell through the door as it opened, and it was several minutes before she could answer the necessary questions. All the men showed signs of the terrific struggle."

Yet one of the Northern Pacific Railway's latest advertisements reads :—"There is land still left in the North-West..... The finest valleys in the North-West, good for grain, hay, fruits, root crops, for mixed, stock or dairy farming, for irrigation or not, as one wishes..... Call on any N. P. R. agent for rates."

This proves who has the land.

In Manitoba and our own North-West, the rate at which lands

were acquired from the Government, and the railway companies in 1902, was about 5,000,000 acres.

Already over 87,600,000 are disposed of in railway, Indian and timber reserves, school grants, Hudson's Bay Company lands, and settlers' domains. About 75,000,000 of these acres have been ceded to companies or sold to settlers ; and as these are selected from the best we had, and as we saw from Mr. McKellar's estimate that the cream of our property was about 75,000,000 acres, we must conclude that we no longer hold our choicest lands in national ownership. We have already parted with them. There was much significance in the remark of Mr. Frank Oliver, M.P., of whom I recently inquired whether the West would favor a grant to the new Grand Trunk Pacific Railway. "They would favor a money grant," he said. "but not giving it the country as was done to the Canadian Pacific." I understood his remark and the feelings of the West, when I saw the C. P. R. map of the North-West, showing its lands in red, covering all the best of all the select parts of the country. I knew very well the company's careful system of surveys, which are relied on by everybody who buys or sells land throughout that region. The C. P. R. still advertises 16,000,000 acres for sale in the Great Fertile Belt, at from $3.00 to $10.00 per acre. The tract is proof that in the original bargain the Canadian people gave 16,000,000 splendid acres too much, which might to-day have been a part of our heritage. Yet, the transaction in those days was in many lights a fair one ; and the company is selling rapidly. In 1902 it sold 2,420,440 acres. The company's great work should also be appreciated. But, accepting the fact that about 87,600,000 acres, including all "the cream" of the North-West, have already gone out of national ownership, it is evident that out of the approximately 200,000,000 useful acres there, a balance remains of some 112,000,000—not the choicest—disappearing at the rate of 5,000,000 per year*, so that even in case that rate should not increase as expected, but only keep that average, the supply will be exhausted in twenty-three years.

Twenty-three years then appears to be the probable limit of national ownership in our most important region, the hope of the Dominion. But if the rush should accelerate as expected, possibly only ten or fifteen years might see the end.

In any event, every year brings a most serious dwindling of our national stock. It is now commonly accepted in the North-West that a settler seeking free land cannot, as formerly, obtain it advantageously. Thus close we are to the first stage of land

*In 1903, it has reached nearly 10,000,000.

hunger and Oklahoma rushes, and to the beginning of a disinherited proletariat!

Then, let us not deceive ourselves. By these facts it is proven that "Our land supply will be rapidly exhausted."

II.

The nature and incidents of the process in Canada, however, are such as to require our further attention. A number of improvident grants have weighted down certain sections of the population for a time in former generations. Among such were the alleged military grants in Prince Edward Island, made after the British conquest of 1760, which were such that most of the province became parcelled out among absentee landlords, whose titles had never been more than speculative, yet to whom the farmers paid rent; until in 1860 the burden had become so intolerable that legislation was obtained which abolished the tenure on payment by the farmers of an "unearned increment" of several dollars per acre, after purchase by the Government of 844,000 acres from the landlords, out of a total area of 1,365,000 acres in the Island. The Magdalen Islands were in like manner granted to Admiral Coffin, and the inhabitants paid a rent of a shilling an acre. Most of them have commuted, yet the islands were recently sold to a company for $1,000,000.

The abolition of the seigniorial tenure of Quebec in 1854, was somewhat on similar lines, but it must be said that this old régime had been of considerable use in early days in the matter of defence and settlement. The Clergy Reserves of land "for the maintenance of a Protestant clergy" were a conspicuous example of such grants, but had small permanent effects. Others were grants to companies supposed to assist and hasten settlement. A fair example of the workings of one phase of these is the British American Land Company, which at an early period received several hundred thousand acres of the best Crown lands in the Eastern Townships gratuitously, and, in consequence, now owns the important water power of the Magog River at the manufacturing city of Sherbrooke. The rents and control of the company are a source of great dissatisfaction there, and, at times, a serious drawback to the business of the place. It is not the purpose here to go into further particulars on the subject, although they are ready to hand. Instances will readily recur to anyone interested.

Yet the grants of former days did little comparative harm because land had then small value apart from the labor upon it; but in our day when every acre of good land in the United States is worth not less than fifty dollars, and is rising in price, the rush

after land by monopolists, their more solid organization and wealth, and their greatly increased tenacity, frequently looking towards complete permanency of ownership, are elements which make the consequences very serious. Railway promoters, real and fraudulent, are now eager for land subsidies, unblushing in the extent of the greed of their demands, and full of subterfuge to avoid obligations.

We have mentioned the grant of "the cream" of Canada to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. Although reduced to the extent of about 6,800,000 by a partial replacement in cash at $1.50 an acre, it has still amounted to over 18,206,000 acres; but there was also received over 1,609,000 for the Souris branch and extension. The entire land grants disposed of to railways by the Dominion Government in Manitoba and the North-West to April 30, 1903, was 30,569,354 acres. The homesteads totalled about 18,000,000 at the end of June, 1903. British Columbia has also been very extravagant in land grants to railways. Next to the Canadian Pacific the most enormous grant has been that of one-twentieth of the whole North-West to the Hudson's Bay Company in extinction of its pretensions. There was considerable patriotic ground for recognition of the historic services of that company, though not of the kind.

But what are we to think of the disposal of our heritage in the Heintze case in British Columbia. F. A. Heintze, a young mining promoter and adventurer of Butte, Montana, obtained a charter for building the Columbia and Western Railway. Later, he sold the road to the C. P. R. but personally retained two hundred and fifty thousand acres of the grant, chiefly choice mining lands. "It is obviously an outrage upon decency," says the Montreal "Witness," "that such an immense tract of land should have been allowed to pass for nothing into the hands of a foreign speculator as his private property." We may add that the outrage might have been easily avoided by conditions in the grant as to the tenure or ultimate disposition. The case is unfortunately not an isolated one.

Although the Laurier Government has a right to boast "that the land in the West has been kept for the settler and a stop put to the policy of giving it away to railways and other corporations," yet the case of the vast Yukon Railway grant, though exceptional and well-intended, was a departure from that principle that deserves to be noted on the other side.

The latest demand of the kind has been upon the Government of Quebec.

In December, 1902, the promoters of the Trans-Canada Railway

scheme, to run from the city of Quebec across the continent, north of the "height of land," and Lake Winnipeg, demanded of the Quebec Government a grant of a subsidy of 20,000 acres per mile, or 8, 000,000 in all—"equal to all the inhabited portion of the province." In reply to them, Premier Parent informed them of a still huger grab—a proposal made to him by an American financier to buy 25,000,000, acres of the same land at a dollar and a half an acre. But it should be noted, about the Trans-Canada proposal of 8,000,000 acres, that it was to be in alternate blocks, and of course selected, and would have controlled the entire region.

The North-West is now full of companies holding, or aiming to hold large quantities of land. Some are harmless intermediaries or colonization agents, but the system is full of abuses, especially when taken with the similar numerous grabs of national property in mines, forests and water powers of which some outlines will be given in the pages to follow. Our special point is that once the land has passed out of our national ownership we can no longer expect to exert fundamental control of its future tenure as we could before that occurs by inserting conditions and reservations in the title for the public benefit, and in other ways.

Incidentally, an illustration will suffice. A property granted by the Government on the River Moisie, before 1860, contains no reservation of the fishing rights along the bank. Consequently these fishing rights, which have considerable commercial value, belong to the present owner. The title of other grants in the neighborhood, dated at a later period, reserve the fishing rights, and, in consequence, the Canadian people draw a revenue by leasing the latter, which goes to perpetual public benefit.

Besides companies large proprietors from abroad have made their appearance. It is only necessary to mention such possessions as the 10,000 acres farmed by Sir John Lister Kaye, in Assiniboia; the 13,000 acre farm of Lord Aberdeen in the Okanagan Valley, British Columbia; the 4,000 acres of Major Bell in Assiniboia ; and the great holdings of numerous Americans of means throughout Canada. These are the mild precursors of the latifundia—the rapacious great estates—which unless prevented, will, in due time, devour the smaller holdings, and abuse and enslave our people.

Control of aliens is one of the most disagreeable features of these alienations from our national ownership. Quite recently we have seen Anticosti, "an island of enormous size and some strategic value bought by a single foreigner and with it the legal right to exclude from it forever, if he chooses, all but foreigners..... It is evident that a movement for the exploitation of the public domain in Canada has begun in earnest among the millionaire speculators of the public, presumably with no other purpose but

money-making, but possibly with patriotic aims."* A very great portion of the Yukon mines are owned by Americans.

Says the American Consul at Montreal :—

"The people of the United States are aiding largely in the development of Canada. Within the last year, millions of dollars have been invested here in agricultural and timber lands, mining and manufacturing industries.

"Many American syndicates have been looking over the ground in Canada during the last few months. A significant fact to those connected with the paper industry is that the largest of these syndicates, the Gres Falls Company, is controlled by men prominent in the International Paper Company. The Gres Falls Company was organized in April last, and owns water power and extensive spruce limits at Three Rivers. The company is capitalized at $500,000, and it is said to be the intention to develop the industry at once.

LAND PROJECTS IN WEST.

"The investments made by Americans in agricultural, grazing, and timber lands amount to many millions of dollars. Only recently, a Columbus, O., syndicate purchased 600,000 acres in the North-West Territory. A Minneapolis and St. Paul syndicate has purchased a much larger area, and is promoting emigration from the western states to the Canadian North-West, to which over 50,000 settlers have gone during the present year."

The Consul-General then specifies the following industries, either recently established or about to be started and financed wholly or partly by American capital :—

Louis B. Jennings, New York, has recently organized the Canadian Steel and Coal Company, capitalized at $6,000,000. His properties consist of 4,000 acres of iron ore, and 3,000 acres of coal lands.

Theodore P. Burgess, president and general manager of the Burgess Sulphite Pulp Company, of Berlin Falls, N.H., has closed a deal with the Quebec Department of Lands, Forests and Fisheries, for the purchase of 600 square miles of timber on the Upper St. Maurice River.

The Laurentide Pulp & Paper Company has an immense plant, and has built up around it the thriving town of Grand Mère.

The latest announcement in connection with the incoming of foreign industries is the news that the International Paper Company, a gigantic concern, is about to utilize the areas it has secured in the Three Rivers district and establish pulp mills in that portion of the country."

Montreal "Witness," 1903.

Americans grant us no such privileges. I know a man in Chicago who renews his application papers for naturalization every few years for the sole purpose of retaining his house. While Americans can hold our lands and mines we are forbidden to do likewise among them.

Enough has been said to illustrate the process of disappearance of our control of our economic future. Let me repeat once more that if there is one lesson in political economy clearly taught, it is the deep importance of the tenure of land; and if there is one principle to which that experience finally brings us face to face, it is that unlimited private control ends in private monopolies of the heritage of the people. We are a marvellously rich nation to-day, but what shall that profit if we allow ourselves to be thrown into the workhouse to-morrow ?

If we are then to be a Modern Nation, we must immediately give our land tenure system our most serious thought ; and thinking we must act ; and acting we must do so thoroughly and quickly.

Imagine ninety-six per cent. of England thrown into national ownership to-morrow at the rising of the sun! What rejoicing there would be among a public who value so highly their little commons and parks, rights of pathway, and other tiny remnants of public ownership. How the British people would prize, enjoy and tenaciously secure the regime! What psalms of gladness would sound through the land! What loads of rent would be lifted! What hoary arrogances would go to their graves! What innummerable walls of selfish exclusion would be at once levelled! What dreams of social regeneration awakened! An England of the people! A Scotland of the people! An Ireland of the people! Its beneficence would be beyond the power of language! We can understand the satisfaction of poor, illiterate old France, when such a boon was secured, even with blood and sordid revolt, and even though the change was but partial and imperfect. To-day 5,000,000 small proprietors living in independence and supplying wealth and virility to the nation attest the supreme worth of that agrarian change. But it is our great privilege to have to-day in our actual grasp such a land of the people on a far completer and grander scale. Shall we be wise and hearken ?

CHAPTER V.

A LAND TENURE POLICY.

What action can be taken to prevent the land process so rapidly moving among us from fastening upon us the evils we fear? Let us repeat once more that we who have for a time the making of our nation in our hands, do not want that nation to be a mediœval people, an oligarchy supported by a plebs, a nation constructed on the principles of monopolies. We desire a modern nation—a nation of real not rhetorical freemen, each really, not shamly, starting life equal in opportunity with the rest, each actual heir to an inalienable birthright of property, education and provision for old age, each with a fair opportunity of winning such honor and doing such good, as it may be in him to do, and each taught the inspiration of that public spirit, moral soundness and well-grounded patriotism which alone can make the continuation of these things possible.

By what measures may the heaping together of overgrown landed estates be curbed, and perpetual inheritance of our people at large be prevented?

Before discussing this question it is proper for us first to consider our

LAND GRANTS AS THEY ARE.

Dominion lands are administered by the Minister of the Interior, through "The Dominon Lands Office." The cabinet has the power to establish a Dominion Land Board to settle questions relating to such administration (but of administration only, not of fundamental policy). All farming lands are sold outright, except some leased for grazing hay. Not more than 460 acres is sold to any one person "except in special cases," but nothing is done to restrict such persons in reselling. Reserves may be made of waterpowers, harbors, stone quarries, and for town sites, highways, market places, jails, court houses, churches, burying grounds, schools, benevolent institutions, and squares, "and for other similar public purposes," and such reserves may be granted subject to such trusts and uses. In practice these reserves are unattended to, except for highways.

Free homesteads of 180 acres are granted, but not to aliens (although they may purchase). Leases of grazing or hay lands may be obtained. For irrigation privileges, and waterpowers are grant-

ed, instead of leased to individuals and companies, and lands to reclaimers of swamps.

It is evident from all this that what is followed is a jumble of principles considered sufficient for the present without any consistent provision for the future, even the almost immediate future. Under these principles we shall in time arrive at no other results than what we find among the other nations. Only in our forestry systems, as we shall see, is there some hope of saving our control of our heritage. The best object that is being sought in the improvements, which have been recently introduced into the management of Dominion Crown Lands has been to do something to get farms into the hands of the settler. Improvident previous grants have blocked this good intention by a most unsatisfactory general situation. But let us suppose that after all this settler is able to get his land—not free in a good locality as he should, but forced to pay a heavy price or submit to heavy disadvantages, but still to get his land after all, to temporarily prosper upon it. It is evident that, as the average consequence of his tenure, his property will pass from his descendents, be swallowed up by stronger capital, the old course of the world will be repeated with all its results, a few will gain largely and the masses will serve them. Now is the time, if any, to meet this problem. Ought it not to be met manfully, by a declaration of the fundamental reserve of State ownership, and the right to make and alter State conditions. No disturbance of any present interests need be made. Let the grants be for so long a period that the present grantees shall have no reason to demur. As to all lands not for agricultural settlement a further step can be taken at once. The system of State ownership and lease ought henceforth to be made unqualified and invariable. But of this more details anon. So much for Dominion lands. The provinces follow in effect the same courses concerning their public grants and reserves as the Dominion, and in general with still less care, except in Ontario and Prince Edward Island. Anyone who will take the trouble to read over the different forms of Provincial land grants and regulations will see that those of Nova Scotia make practically no reservations, except for mines and roads (and until 1899 not even for lease of the timber lands); that those of New Brunswick reserve nothing (but timber lands are leased for twenty years with a strict repudiation of any claim of perpetuity) ; that those of Newfoundland reserve the dominance of future laws "for the improvement or cultivation of lands." and any duties of services (or even confiscation) for "public works or improvements" with or without compensation. This would be going too far, as such a tenure if logically enforced would not be clear and settled.

In the Provinces of Quebec, Ontario and British Columbia the grants reserve practically nothing but mining rights. One warning comes from Nova Scotia in the Crown Lands Commissioners' report for 1902, that "in view of the small area of land now remaining in the hands of the Crown, it is respectfully suggested that it would be sounder policy in leasing large areas of land to lease them on an annual rental.....as by this means a permanent revenue would be assured in future years when no further land was available for actual granting or leasing."

Private ownership itself is not an evil, if limited. The passing of the land out of the national proprietorship into the private possession of innumerable settlers, with a few generous understandings as to public rights, is an enormous good, and if history permitted us to think that it would remain so forever, half the problem would be solved. In fact, leases for cultivation have not proved a success wherever the farmer could become an owner, as not only the discontent with rent-paying in such countries as Ireland has shown, but the same applies to Prince Edward Island and to Indian lands let to farmers, as in Dundee, P.Q., where sale was finally made outright. Our suggestion is in order to avoid that very rent system in the future, if not a more complete disinheritance. Resulting from the whole of the foregoing remarks, I suggest then the following principles:

I.—In every title to land granted in the future the Canadian people, whether represented by a Dominion or a Provincial Government, ought to expressly give notice reserving expressly the fundamental principle of State ownership and the right of subjecting the tenure of the land so granted to any changes of general application which may be deemed beneficial to the nation. If any perturbation were felt at the introduction of some such express notice, it need not be by the ordinary farmer, who may feel perfectly secure in his control of legislation to prevent the restriction affecting his class. To others it would be a denial of the ever-ready fiction by which the doctrine of "vested rights" is invoked in an abusive form to oppose property legislation. We ought to so provide that when, in the distant future, the day comes when it will be desirable to make any changes in land tenure, those changes will be looked upon as always understood to be provided for, and not introduced without due warning and right. The doctrine of Vested Rights, properly understood, is a fair doctrine. It is that a party who has acquired property should not be deprived of it arbitrarily.

In the case of franchises and corporation holdings, limitation to one generation or twenty-five years would be fair as the second generation would then lose no expectation. It does not mean that property-holders may claim to be indemnified for general and con-

siderately arranged legislation, such as the extinction of a right at the end of a long period to come ; or at the end of present lives ; or, as has been done in the laws for abolition of landlordism in Canada and New York, the transmutation of ownership into mortgages. Such a condition, as above suggested, would greatly smooth the way to considerately arranged legislation on the subject, even though it may be said to state little more than the Eminent Domain of all States, a shadowy assertion of the principle attended with great practical difficulties.

The same condition ought also to be applied, by statute, not merely to fresh grants, but to all existing holdings of land. It is to the interest of the farmers of the country and their descendants that this country should belong to them and not to monopolists.

There is another phase of the use of the argument of "Vested Rights," which deserves the severest treatment. It is its use by financial and political thieves to secure themselves in the fruits of their conspiracies against the public.

In urging the defence of "Vested Rights," they say, in effect, to the Canadian people : "We have filched from you by trickery a valuable contract, making over some of your property. We rely on you, as men of honor, to maintain your contract ! We have put some third parties between you and us as a shield to our fraud."

II.—There ought to be a constitutional limit to the value of agricultural land permitted to be owned or controlled by any person or corporation, at least for more than a limited period.

Regarding this limitation of value, while the principle of a time limit for existing proprietors to conform to it ought to be recognized, it would be unjust to make it such in the case of a corporation like the Canadian Pacific Railway or the Hudson Bay Company that the corporation should not have time to dispose of its holdings without sacrifice ; although a spirit of moderation and non-obstruction should be required of the company also. The period in such an exceptional case might be based on the natural movement of land sales. Taxation and limitation of sale price offer remedies for excessive delay in holding ; but I am convinced that expropriation now of such grants, is the course having the highest and most immediate advantages and would pay best as well. After so expropriating, the Dominion Government would be once more n a position to control both the tenure and the local policy of these lands ; the latter being a matter worthy of profound attention, for instance, as affecting settlers on odd-numbered sections, townsites, re-division, settlement of colonies in a block, and so forth. And such an expropriation would probably not be costly in the end.

The leading subject to be arrived at is the limitation of the quantity to be owned by a single proprietor or combination. Those now owning more should be left alone, as their cases are not yet numerous enough to constitute any menace to our national idea, and will in time correct themselves. That quantity should for the present be, say, 1,000 acres.

The French law of succession which divides a deceased property among the heirs of the deceased proprietor without permitting the division to be varied by will has resulted in the retention of two-thirds of France by small proprietors. About one-third, however, is in the hands of large, and is growing.

There is a familiar objection in the argument that future agricultural progress will be bound up with large estates. Land becoming scarce will be dear, capital will be required for its purchase, increasing markets will increase the returns, and it will pay more and more to make farming a highly organized business, operated on a grand scale by masses of wage-earners, under a wealthy proprietor, or what is much the same, a company in few hands. The inferior farmers first, and afterwards those with insufficient capital will, as in other businesses, be driven out by competition, and they and their progeny forced into the ranks of the employed, brought under the power of monopolists, and forced to start life with inferior opportunities of education and provision.

The tendency of the times is undoubtedly in that direction; and when the process finally reaches such an issue, only one remedy will preserve the freedom of the individual—a remedy for which our people are not prepared, but with a view to which the State should now use foresight respecting land titles—a remedy which will require the highest grade of trained citizens before it will work satisfactorily on the complete scale,—the ultimate remedy of a highly organized National Coöperation, to-day almost visionary and certainly far from immediately practical, but in a century perhaps a necessity. As long as the monopolistic conclusion of farming as a business can be staved off by those devices which increase the number of property-holders, so long will it be possible to postpone and prepare for that ultimate remedy, which, unprepared for, will be a failure, and half prepared for a difficult enterprise. Recognized as our ultimate future, to be dealt with practically, its difficulties can be gradually lessened until they dissolve when they are finally grappled with. It would be well, too, not to exaggerate its difficulties and novelty. It is not a new system but one ancient and widespread in agriculture. And it is in operation among ourselves and other peoples in the forms of all public works, postal, military and naval services and other matters.

National coöperation implies a return to national ownership of

the soil. Given that full coöperation in its working might not at once be needed, as public control would suffice for many purposes, instead of public ownership. It would consequently be far-seeing statesmanship to provide, by sufficiently expressed reservations, for the future return to public ownership when desired by the nation generally.

A further ground for such a reservation must be taken into consideration. It is not only those engaged in agriculture itself who will require to be finally considered as owners of the national land. The use of machinery and organization of labor will have driven from the soil the vast majority of the people, who will then be engaged in manufacturing and other occupations. Shall these be deprived of proprietorship in the source of the national food? Will they not be largely the representatives of the present farmer and settler, and shall these farms of theirs and all this national heritage be in that day the property of a few only? We should already seek to provide for those, our Disinherited of the Future, who in justice and good policy ought never to be disinherited at all.

It may be replied that their forefathers will have parted with their property and received the price. But I hold that such laws of sale are limited by higher laws,—they are equitably subject to changes. No generation has the right to disinherit another from his share in the property of the nation, and the existing laws are open to wise revision when the good of the whole people shall require.

Shall all this brave present reality of the glorious common estate, which in its beauty and illimitable wealth is almost too magnificent to think real, send down not a shred of proprietorship to them? Shall our common riches end for them in the dark alleys of poverty? Shall the splendid independence of our landed freemen become a legend forgotten among a race of dependents?

Many a rich man, as well as the poor, is sick of the eternal struggle of care in modern life. Large as he may make his pile, he has no security that in his old age he may not be driven to penury. But that is a small thing to the reflection that, within a generation or two, the majority, if not all of his children, will be face to face again with the eternal treadmill of poverty, and some of them will be almost certainly ground down under the very domination which has raised himself to his mastery over the weak. To see them situated in misery as antiquarians constantly see such, would be a bitter disappointment to him, could he but return from the other world. The only salvation is to change the economic system, so that the State shall secure to each of its citizens a foot-

hold of property, a provision of labor, a support for old age. These are, indeed, his birthright, out of the national heritage. No government or series of governments, can deprive him of these natural rights by land grants or any other devices, and, at times, (subject only to such conditions as secure the temporary well-being, order and peace), the right of the people to its entire estate must underlie all titles. National control is to be read into them all. All must be recognized to contain an element of lease for general weal; and this will be the true protection of their fixity. When we understand that fully we shall understand the Land Policy for Canada. Men of sense will see that this is not an indiscriminate communism, but a recognition of conditions to be prudently cared for.

In several ways we are using some decided, even if scant and fragmentary methods to care for it now. We are limiting the amount of land procurable by one person in homesteading. We are not selling our timber limits, but leasing them—that is, securing them as permanent national property. Dominion water powers are also so treated. We have laws by which lands and other properties are forfeited by failure to use. We make reserves of certain mining and fishing and other rights. But let us do what we are so doing much better. Let us do it upon a large and long-sighted principle, and let us consider if that principle ought to be less or other than the reservation of the right and possibility of some future return to national ownership.

III.—I say that no law can deprive the people permanently of their right to this. Subject to equity weighing welfare against welfare, convenience against convenience, it is subject to the will of the whole people of any generation. One generation cannot give away the rights of another. It can only deal with its own. And so the natural period of any such laws is the approximate activity of one generation—about thirty years. This principle should limit franchises and leases of all kinds. A franchise for over thirty years is inequitable and improper.

The present system of dissipating our national ownership into a defective and unrestrained system, or rather process, of private ownership, for it is such that changes are inevitably bound up in it and changes comparatively frequent in all the smaller properties, and all these changes follow a law of agglutination into large estates, and therefore I speak of the process of private ownership—all that system of dissipating our national ownership without providing against the transmutations of it which history teaches us to expect, is unwise, unpatriotic and unjust.

IV.—We ought specially to limit all other proprietors of agricul-

tural lands, except actual farmers, to a term of years, such term to be not more than ten years, certainly not more than twenty-five, because twenty-five years may be regarded as about the active mature life of one generation. We ought to recognize that just as no one has a right to give away the property of another, so one generation has only a right to dispose of the national heritage for the period of its own management. One generation cannot give away the rights of another. In departing from this rule except for the most necessary purposes, we are dealing without authority and beyond our true rights. Later on I shall have another word to say concerning this.

V.—If the amount of land to be owned or controlled by a single proprietor or corporation were restricted, it would not be a bar to agricultural operations on the large scale, when these become generally advantageous, as seems inevitable. It might be done to advantage by renting from the several proprietors and this would distribute the benefits. But the ultimate object should be rental from the State as owner, with State control of operations, and ultimately in a more distant, but not now impossible future, the State as farmer. These are possibilities which ought not to be lost sight of in the lavish cessions of our present rights, because the life of a nation is not a year or a day.

VI.—Strict constitutional limitations of ownership of any Canadian real estate by aliens, directly or indirectly. The principal limitation should be one of time, forbidding such alien control of ownership for more than a term of years, and never permitting it to be perpetual. There may be some temporary advantages in the system of permitting them to acquire blocks or portions of our territory to resell or develope, especially on the huge scale on which it is being done, and in view of the vaster scale on which it promises to be done, but it is full of dangers and is contrary to the fundamental right of our people as a whole to "do their owning themselves." The case of Heinze* in British Columbia should be made entirely impossible. It is a gross abuse. In connection with timber limits, we shall later show still more enormous abuses of the same description.

VII.—There are special reserves which we ought not to overlook, such as roads and parks, and the underground below a reasonable depth. Ordinarily a man owns the ground beneath his lot to the centre of the earth; but in cities the right of tunneling may yet become a very important right, as an increasing number of instances show in connection with modern improvements. But of far greater timeliness is the urgency of national reservation of all the desirable park properties in the country. In every neighborhood where there will be population there will be need of liberal park spaces. Every

conspicuous or celebrated point of natural beauty in the lands now in national ownership ought to be dedicated as a park reserve. If necessary, for use in the meantime, these place could be leased. Such are the numerous islands, points and villa lots belong to the Government throughout the country. The sale instead of lease of the Thousand Islands is a case directly in point—a thoroughly useless sacrifice. The subject ought to be entrusted to permanent commissioners appointed for the purpose and empowered to make all necessary surveys and estimates.

A similar reservation should be extended to frequent paths and avenues of access to all lake and river shores, and points of scenic beauty or other interest. Why should the public lose these to private persons? To illustrate: Along one side of the large and beautiful Lac Tremblant, thirty leagues north of Montreal, runs for several miles the shore of the Quebec National Park, sloping up in unbroken woodlands to the long crest of Trembling Mountain, the highest of the Laurentides. Rumor has it that all this shore is about to be improvidently granted by the Government to private proprietors. If so, the rights of the people of Canada to enjoy the Park will be seriously curtailed. They will no longer be able, except on temporary sufferance, to land upon the banks, nor pass through to climb the mountain side. Now, if such grants be made, and they are contrary to the principles of park reservations, the titles ought (1) to be leases, of not more than a generation, with right of renewal for another if any further leases be then given; (2) they should provide frequent reserves for right of public passage up to the mountains; (3) access to the waterfalls and most notable points of view should be reserved; (4) some right of use of the shores for landing and passage along the waterside should be retained as in the towpaths of floatable rivers; and (5) the lots leased should not be of farm size, but merely ample villa lots, say two or three acres deep. These dispositions would allow every useful purpose and not destroy the park-rights of the nation.

To take another example from former times:—If ever a spot was destined for public park uses it was the Falls of Niagara. That destination was ignored and destroyed for several generations. The surroundings, at first wild and free, became enclosed. The approaches were fenced in and surrounded by a revolting array of turnstiles and hotels and greed and utilitarianism did their best to destroy the God-likeness of the scene. In the end the public of two nations were forced to redeem at a heavy ransom the rights of access which had originally belonged to them before the grants to private holders. It had been an antiquated and short-sighted operation and should not be repeated in a Modern Nation. Our Governments have done well in reserving and enlarging the Banff Natural Park

in the Rockies ; the Algonquin Park and Temogami Reserve in Ontario; Laurentide Park in Quebec ; the Plains of Abraham; the Ottawa Improvement reserves, and other of the kind. Let them infinitely universalize the system and they will only be doing what the public of to-day will approve, and that of fifty years from now canonize them for.

In our new country, with an abundance of land, we have grown up accustomed to many generous customs, the value of which we fail to appreciate, which we should be careful as far as possible not to lose. Instance the picking of wild fruits, the occasional crossing of a farm, fish and game usages, the picking-up of a little firewood, and other incidentals, which are generally allowed in Canada, arising from the rights originally held by the public in the wild land. If such things were done in England or Scotland, the keeper would be promptly down on the offender and a criminal case would follow before the magistrates. Hence the tenacity with which a few remainders of ancient popular rights are retained. At Ogunquit, a watering-place on the coast of Maine, I have seen the public summarily deprived of such an original privilege, the customary pathway along the brow of the shore cliffs. The farm on which these rocks were situated were bought by a pork-packer from Chicago, who erected a cottage near-by. Immediately afterwards signs and fences were put up, prohibiting "trespassers." The consequence was that the public were at once cut off from the best view in the locality, and also from convenient communication with the entire shore beyond. The pork-packer, as a matter of fact, cared nothing about the view himself. He was, of course, within the law, as it stands. But what a law! I put it to all thoughtful persons whether such customs are not really based on equitable rights, and whether such equitable rights ought not to be expressed and guarded by reservations in the title, and where necessary by new regulations under general principles of land-grants which ought to be enunciated by our governments as constituting contitutional understandings. Little Newfoundland has done better than any of our provinces in its attempt to express such things. In its Crown Lands Act, 1903, besides all the reserves in Dominion Acts, there are added "any bog lands, beaches or shores for general and public use, five per cent. of all trees or wooded lands as shelter for stock, and power to set apart commons for pasturage, and in all grants, leases and licenses there shall be reserved for public use a width of not less than twenty-five feet, and not exceeding one hundred feet, round and adjoining all lakes and ponds, and on both banks of all rivers," besides on timber lands public rights of travel, firewood and timber for fishing and shipping purposes.

The movement of the opposite process takes new shapes yearly. In the report of the North-West Department of Agricultural, 1902, the following sentence appears:* "The fencing of the water-frontages is a matter which is creating a considerable amount of anxiety among the ranchers of this district."

As a consequence of the foregoing considerations, I would propose the following principles to form part of a reformation of our Land Tenure Policy. To several of them, I think there can be little serious objection :—

1. The imposition of a term on alien control of all Canadian real estate.
2. The imposition of a short term on alien control of all Canadian agricultural lands.
3. The imposition of a term on all other proprietors of Canadian agricultural lands, except actual farmers, such term to be not more than twenty-five years.
4. Limitation of the amount of agricultural land to be held or controlled at any one time by any person or association.
5. Abolition of right of willing.
6. Complete cessation of issues of land grants to railways.
7. Expropriation of all existing railway land grants.
8. Reduction of free land grants from 160 to 100 acres (as in Quebec.)
9. Express assumption of the principle of national ownership in all future grants, but with very long leases, without rent to actual farmers, say 100 years.
10. Extensive reservations for future parks, roads, water fronts, public rights of passage and enjoyment, etc.
11. A complete survey of our national estate.
12. A special land commission for the Dominion.

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*Page 53.

CHAPTER VI.

AN EXISTING MODERN NATION.

Although the foregoing views and proposals have been arrived at independently by a consideration of the conditions in Canada itself, by ownership of land in the Canadian West and various parts of the province of Quebec, and by examination of the history of land in Canada, of the various systems of land grants, and of numerous authorities on the subject of land tenure generally, it has been interesting to find how closely similar conclusions have been arrived at in some other parts of the Empire. The colony of New Zealand, containing under a million inhabitants, but destined to support a future population of many times the number, is the home of a gallant branch of our Imperial race who have set themselves resolutely to the work of solving the same problems.

Mr. H. H. Lusk, a former member of the New Zealand Parliament and afterwards a resident of the United States, published in 1899 a work entitled "Our Foes at Home,"* directed against monopoly in America, in which he has graphically explained the New Zealand legislation. His work is to be recommended to all who are interested in the subject. Mr. Lusk says :—

"The people of New Zealand began with the land. In that country they were not in danger of being misled, as the people of America have been, by the exaggerated idea that the country was so big that it was practically inexhaustible.....

"The first reforms in New Zealand were therefore directed to the land. It was concluded that as the country was rich in soil and genial in climate, it was especially adapted for the support of a large, prosperous and well-to-do population of farmers. It was also considered that the fact of the land being rich was an excellent reason why it should not be owned in large estates, which could not be necessary for the comfort of the owners, but rather in moderate and small farms that could be made the most of by men of small means, whose own labor and that of their families, might be sufficient to do it justice. It may be worth while to notice that in these respects the case of New Zealand is precisely the same as that of the best and richest lands of the Western States of this country. The evil of large estates had begun early in New Zea-

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* Quoted by kind permission of Messrs. Doubleday, Page & Co., N.Y., the publishers of "Our Foes at Home."

land. From the first the islands were looked upon with special favor by a certain class of English capitalists, the same class, indeed, which has invested, it is said, large sums in great estates in the West—the class of English landlords. As they were early in the field, they obtained, as a rule, choice lands, situated near the earlier centres of population, and, therefore, the first to be increased in value by the increase of settlement. The settlement of native difficulties, which had done much to retard the country during the first thirty years of settlement, led to a greatly increased speculation in land after the year 1870, and it was at this point that the idea of reform first arose. The purpose of the party of reform was to prevent the continued acquisition of large properties by individuals and the first step taken was that of curtailing the amount which any one purchaser might buy. This included corporations as well as individuals, because, there as here, there was already seen the growing danger of the organized syndicate of wealth. A large part of the public lands were withdrawn at this time from absolute sale and reserved for perpetual lease at an annual rental, the amount of which was to be readjusted every twenty-one years by a new valuation, based on the value of the land, exclusive of the improvements made by the tenants. It was also provided that lands still open for sale in the usual way should in no case be sold to the extent of more than three hundred and twenty acres with any land already held by him. A check was in this way put upon the sale of public lands to large owners, and great encouragement was given to comparatively poor settlers to take land under the provisions of perpetual lease, which relieved them of the need of paying anything for the land in the first instance beyond the interest on the price fixed by the government as its original value. The new arrangement, however, was manifestly no cure for the mischief already done by the sale of large estates to individuals and corporations, some of which were being held for the purpose of re-sale when the increase of population should have greatly increased land values, while others were intended to become family estates to be occupied by a tenantry as in England.

Neither of these purposes appeared to the party of land reformers in New Zealand calculated to be of benefit to the people at large. They were convinced that in the settlement of the country landlordism should, as far as possible, be discouraged, or, at least, that the only landlord ought to be the nation, upon uniform terms for all holders..... It was decided that in the interests of the country and its people, special taxation ought to be levied on great estates. It was the policy of the country, deliberately expressed to render it unequal, as a cure for what threatened to become a great social mischief..... A special tax, called the absentee tax,

was added to whatever tax the land was liable to under the more ordinary provisions of the statute, at the rate of twenty per cent. upon the tax as levied in the case of all owners not residing in the country for three years or more before the annual assessment..... But there was one class of landholder, including the owners of some of the largest and most valuable estates in the country, who were more difficult to reach. These were the purchasers of great family estates, the men who wished to establish a landed aristocracy in New Zealand, and to transplant the English landlord and tenant to the new country....The last step in land reform consisted in applying the principle of state landlordship to these lands, and so save them from the evils of the private landlord system. All such lands are now liable to be resumed by the State as soon as they are required by the people ; the only provision in favor of the owner, beyond the provisions for compensation at the present value of the property, being that the homestead, with an area of a thousand acres surrounding it, may be reserved by him from any such sale..... It is but a few months ago that one such property was taken under the valuation of a Court at a cost of a million and a half of dollars, and having been surveyed into small farms, has already been divided among resident farmers, who, with their families number nearly a thousand souls. Space will not permit any attempt to go into the details of this or any other of the statutes by which the Legislature of New Zealand has endeavored to do substantial justice to the classes who had begun the seizure, under the sanction of law, of the people's inheritance. In no instance was any attempt made to deprive them of what they had expended ; in none was it proposed to take from them the profits they had already made by their transactions. What has been done has only been this : to put a limit to the injury which was being done to the people under cover of laws for which the people themselves had been in the past responsible. To a certain extent the people of New Zealand are the sufferers by the transaction because they pay for increased values created, not by the purchasers of the land, but by themselves ; but they do so willingly. By giving the great landholders money or government bonds they feel that they avoid the danger of making individuals the scapegoats for social and political sins that have been their own, and thus they consider they gain a moral advantage greater by far than the sacrifice they make.

The question which remains is a crucial one : What has been the result of all these experiments ? In the first place, the reply must be that they have answered their purpose to an extent which

is surprising. They have turned * the tide of population, which ten years ago was setting towards the towns, towards the country; they have increased yearly the number of holdings of agricultural lands in that time by upward of sixty per cent.; they have brought about a condition of things whereby, instead of one man in four being the holder of farming lands, as was the case ten years ago, the population to-day is little short of one out of every two adult male persons in the country.† New Zealand can appeal to her statistics to show that her population has increased more rapidly since her reforms were adopted; she can refer to her trade and the value of her exports to show that her policy of small farms has at least coincided with a great increase in her production; she can point to the increased savings of her people, and the general comfort and well-being of her inhabitants, all of which have kept pace with the progress of reform..... It is for the people of America to consider how far these things may serve as a lesson for them.* ....." The grand aim of the legislation of New Zealand during the last fifteen years has been the establishment of a community in which industry shall be recognized as king. No attempt has been made, nor has any attempt been advocated, to place all men on a footing of equality of condition, such as animates the dreams of the more advanced socialists of to-day. No attempt has ever been made to take charge of the community on paternal lines, and so to discourage individual enterprise. What has been attempted and already with a large measure of success, has been to equalize, as far as possible, opportunity for all, and to render it impossible for any one class of the people to obtain the uncontrolled mastery over others."‡

These words of the New Zealand legislator seem as if written to fit the case of the very problems suggested in the pages of the present work. They show them not to be chimerical or impossible, but open for study in actual practice in a similarly situated country.

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* By 1899.

†Page 114. ‡Page 244.

II.

A MODERN FOREST, MINE AND WATER POWER TENURE POLICY.

LESSONS OF HISTORY.

(a).—Lands less productive for agriculture than forestry should be set apart as forest reserves.

(b).—State ownership over all public forest lands is the only system advantageous to the nation.

(c).—Such ownership needs to be firmly and unequivocally asserted, or it will be lost.

(d).—Limited licenses to cut the timber crop, under the State and open to competition periodically, should be the only tenure of all forests.

(e).—No waterpowers need or should be sold; all should be leased by the State.

(f).—No mines should be sold, and especially none bearing coal, petroleum, iron, and other necessaries.

CHAPTER VII.

OUR WOODLAND ESTATES.

The extent of the forests of Canada cannot be stated exactly, as no man has ever been sufficiently acquainted with them to do so. They are the largest in the world. They are variously estimated at from about 800,000,000 to 1,657,000,000 acres, or over two-thirds of the total area of the Dominion.

The conflicting estimates of their extent show the need of forest survey for the Dominion. As the Ottawa Government, among its many improvements in such matters, has recently established a Dominion Forestry Department, doubtless this matter will receive earnest attention. To show the divergency of the estimates, the Dominion Report on the Forest Wealth of Canada, issued in 1894, states the total forest surface as 799,230,720 acres. The Dominion statistician, Dr. George Johnson, F.SS.,* gives about 1,400,000 square miles (1,000,000,000 acres), as a Conservative estimate at the same time quoting Dr. Bell, Assistant Director of the Geological Survey, as estimating the area of the northern forest at 1,657,000,000 acres (2,600,000 square miles), or over two thirds of the entire area of Canada.†

An incredibly valuable property in themselves, they also carry vital possibilities in relation to our agriculture. One of the ablest men in Canada on such matters, Mr. A. A. Ayer, of Montreal, considers that, roughly speaking, three-fourths of our forest lands will ultimately become farm land, principally as devoted to dairying, by aid of thorough education in farming, together with proper business system. It is then, in our forests that we have our farming reserve in the future. They hold also our water-shed protection, our control of the world's paper trade, and our control of the trade in wooden goods. They are too the natural pillar of public ownership and the practical education of the future nation therein. All the European nations would sacrifice much to stand where we do in that respect.

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*The Wood Pulp of Canada, page 18.

† The dimensions of our great northern forests are so vast that they seem almost incredible. The central line of the forest belt may be described as starting from the vicinity of the Straits of Belle Isle, and following a west south-westerly course till it passes to the south of James Bay, then turning north-west it follows this course all the way to the border of Alaska, opposite the mouth of

Of recent years some of the chief principles advocated in the foregoing pages have been applied in a considerable degree to this portion of our national estate. National ownership has been the rule, leasehold the form. But control of aliens is entirely lacking, and limitation of the quantity leased and of the term of lease are not satisfactorily recognized in the various provincial and Dominion systems, and there are, besides, most serious abuses and practical departures from safe courses even when the laws prescribe them. By the British North America Act, 1867, the management of public lands and timber in the organized provinces was handed over to the provincial governments. The Forestry System of the Province of Ontario is the best developed, and is claimed with reason, to be the most enlightened on the continent of America. A brief description then, of the Ontario system, especially as its fundamental principles are those of the other provinces, may open our discussion. I do not propose to deal, even if I could, with several of the subjects which are uppermost in the minds of the friends of foresty to-day,—subjects of undoubted importance, such as the annual waste of millions of dollars from neglected fires, the reckless denudation of watersheds, the extinction of our pine, the exportation of pulp wood in place of its manufacture into paper with-

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Mackenzie River, the total distance being 3,700 miles. The breadth of the spruce belt taken at ten almost equal intervals in the above distance as follows :—

	Miles.
From Halifax to Ungava Bay	1,000
In the Labrador Peninsula	950
From the north shore of Lake Huron to Richmond Gulf, on the east main coast	800
From the international boundary on the northwest side of Lake Superior to Cape Henrietta Maria, on Hudson Bay.	600
From the international boundary on Lake of the Woods to Cape Tatnam, on Hudson Bay	600
From Yorkton, East Assiniboia, to Fort Churchill	600
From Battleford to the limit of forest north-east of Raindeer Lake	600
From the summit of the Rocky Mountains on a north-easterly line passing through the Athabasca Lake	800
From the water shed of the Pacific slope on a north-easterly line passing through Great Slave Lake	700
From the water shed of the Pacific slope on a north-easterly line crossing the Mackenzie River on the Arctic circle.	350

This gives an average breadth of 700 miles. If we multiply the total by this breadth the result is an area of 2,590,000 square miles as the approximate area of our northern forests, in which the black and white spruces are the prevailing trees."—Dr. Robert Bell, Assistant Director Geological Survey.

in our borders, the work of tree-planting on the western prairies, or the bogus settler grants. Canadians, as owners of enormous forest interests, should make themselves familiar with the efforts of the Canadian Forestry Association to disseminate the truth and arouse our governments to action regarding these subjects. But, being matters of current management, they are, after all, subordinate to the permanent question of "tenure."

Are our forest possessions passing, or in danger of passing out of our hands as national owners If so, a second grand calamity, inferior only to the first, the loss of national control of farming lands, threaten us. And if so, what means can we take to cure and prevent the process ?

CHAPTER VIII.

CONDITIONS OF PRESENT FOREST TENURE.

The Annual Report of the Clerk of Forestry for the Province of Ontario for 1899, is one of the ablest public documents ever issued in the Dominion. It contains a history of the forest legislation and management from the earliest days to the present, together with a full description of the existing state of things, both good and ill, and much expert opinion on needed improvements. It would be difficult to too highly praise the work of its authors, Messrs. Thomas Southworth, the Clerk of Forestry for Ontario, and Aubrey White, the Assistant Commissioner of Crown Lands, by whom, with other officials and ministers, the high position of Ontario has been attained. The following quotations bear upon the matter of the tenure.

"The growing of forest crops for profit requires not only cheap land, but the ability to wait a long time for financial returns..... Because of this, forestry can only be successfully or satisfactorily carried on by the State, and the lands to be worked for timber crops should be owned or controlled by the whole people; and as government control of private lands must necessarily be somewhat limited in this country, it is expedient that government ownership should be the rule in our future forestry operations as it has been in the past.*

"The amount paid into the Provincial Treasury from the source in 1897 was $1,082,054.56; in 1898, $756,434.34; this is exclusive of bonus or ground rent, simply for dues on the timber as it is cut.†

[On this point of the advantage to the people as landlord drawing rent, compare a passage from the official pamphlet entitled: "Land Settlement in New Ontario (1893)":—"Owing to the great extent of her national wealth and the policy adopted from the outset of conserving the public interest in the provincial timber and mineral resources, Ontario is in the fortunate position of being able to dispense with Provincial (or State) taxation. Not only is the ordinary business of government carried on from year to year without imposing any such burden upon the people, but in addition the Government distributes annually a very large amount in services such as in less favored countries are provided for by the municipalities. The amount spent on education by this Province

* Page 7.
† Page 8.

each year is about $750,000, the appropriation for the encouragement of agriculture upwards of $200,000, and the sum devoted to hospitals and charities, about $200,000.]

Returning to the Report of the Clerk of Forestry :—" A perusal of the historical sketch of the development of our Crown Timber Regulations will disclose a steady progress in the direction of obtaining for the whole people as great a profit as possible from the great crop of standing timber with which we were originally endowed. From allowing a favored firm of contractors to cut timber at their own sweet will, where and when they choose, free of any charge by the State, to selling the standing pine timber only for $17,500 per square mile, plus $1.25 per 1,000 feet, board measure, when the timber is cut, is very great progress in the direction referred to, yet that is what has been accomplished."

. . . . . .

," Under the present system of selling the timber, the lumberman pays by way of a lump sum in cash, called a bonus, what he estimates to be the value of the timber standing on a 'limit' or berth, less the fixed stumpage charge of $1.25 per thousand feet, for a year only, but relies on the good faith of the government for a renewal of his licence each year, until he shall have had time in which to remove the standing timber which he has partly paid for in advance." *

" The Ontario system of dealing with the timber upon Crown Lands, as it exists to-day, is far in advance of any other system of regulating the disposal of public timber resources on this continent. Those in charge of it, from time to time, have made greater efforts to preserve for public uses as large a measure as possible of the country's natural wealth than have been attempted elsewhere. Though, owing to the difference of local conditions, we are as yet far from the perfected forestry system of Europe, the result of the increased attention bestowed upon the question of forest preservation has been a gradual development in the direction of modified forestry methods, calculated to secure the perpetuation of the woodlands with the least possible disturbance of existing interests. The latest legislation, providing for the establishment of Forest serves is a further step to the same end, designed not only to secure for the people the largest possible present return, but to secure that revenue in perpetuity." *

In a long historical sketch the report describes the feudal tenure of the French period with its class privileges and abuses, yet with reserves in the grants of timber for the navy and lands for public works:—the earliest British period, introducing provisions

* Page 6.

for the first forest reserves, between Lake Chaplain and the River St. Lawrence, and the following striking principle, in the Land Rules and Regulations of 1789: "And to prevent individuals from monopolizing such spots as contain mines, minerals, fossils and conveniences for mills, and other singular advantages of a common and public nature, to the prejudice of the general interest of the settlers, the Surveyor-general and his agents, or Deputy-Surveyor, shall confine themselves to such lands only as are fit for the common purposes of husbandry, and shall reserve all other spots aforementioned, together with all such as many be fit for ports and harbors or works of defence, or such as contain valuable timber for ship-building or other purposes, conveniently situated for water carriage, in the hands of the Crown."

After continuing the history of the timber trade in a very interesting manner, the report details the disastrous effect of monopolistic abuses, which crept in.

"In defiance of both the letter and the spirit of the official instructions repeatedly issued by the Home Government, and of all sound principles of national economy, a system of reckless and profuse alienation of the public resources had come into vogue, which seriously retarded the settlement and development of the country, discouraged productive enterprise, and by the impoverishment and discontent which resulted, contributed much to swell the volume of popular disaffection towards the local governing class, which culminated in the rebellion of 1837, The exhaustive investigation, made by Lord Durham, into the causes which led to that il-fated outbreak, fully exposed the extent of the mis-government and corruption.....The main abuse from which the country suffered during the period of maladministration was the granting of wild lands in large tracts, under one pretext or another, to individuals or companies, who had no intention of settling on or improving them but simply held them for the rise in value, which they anticipated as the result of opening up the country.....During the administration of one Governor, Sir R. S. Milne, and under the same six members of the Legislative Council, who constituted the Land Board, 1,425,000 acres were granted to about 60 individuals. The profusion of this land-granting Board was rewarded by the Duke of Portland by grants of nearly 120,000 acres of land, rather less than 48,000 being granted to the Governor and rather less than 12,000 to each of the Executive Councillors of which it was composed.....An extensive tract in the western portion of the Province was placed under the entire control of Colonel Talbot, and the whole of the Crown reserves and 1,100,000 acres in one block were sold to the Canada Company.....further aggravated by the policy of setting aside Crown and Clergy Reserves,

the latter constituting nominally one-seventh of the entire area. The result was to discourage the settler from making a home in the wilderness on account of the large tracts held for speculation. .....The Government policy did not in the end benefit the favored classes."

The report gives an account of the proceedings of a Committee of the House of Commons in 1854, during which it was shown that the later Canadian lease system was "much superior to that of the United States in the matter of preventing the monopoly of natural resources by comparatively few individuals and securing to the public treasury returns in some measure proportionate to the value of the privileges granted." The United States system was one of cash sale of the public lands into private ownership, without any limitation as to the quantity that might be bought. Mr. Jonathan R. White, a Michigan expert witness, found reasons in support of that plan. "It aids the sale of lands, making them subject to taxation, and encouraging the settlement of the country, also promotes the saving of the timber." But "the Canadian lumbermen and Crown Lands Officials, who gave evidence, clearly pointed out the defects of the American system. I have read Mr. White's evidence," said Mr. David Roblin, an experienced lumberman, " and am decidedly of the opinion that the plan he proposes would at once place in the hands of the rich and opulent capitalists all the good lands of the Crown, or would lead to the formation of private companies for the purpose of purchasing the whole of them; once in the hands of wealthy individuals or companies, they would immediately ask a large advance upon the cost and sell them on time to those that actually cultivate and improve the lands, and who would have no other resource but to submit and pay such fines as were demanded."

"How well-grounded these objections to the American system were has been amply shown by the experience of later years. The alienation of extensive tracts of the public domain of the United States has not promoted economical methods of lumbering. On the contrary it has resulted in large regions adopted by nature for tree-bearing, being stripped entirely of vegetation and turned into barren wastes, while the fact that the ownership of the soil remains vested in private hands is a serious obstacle to comprehensive plans of reforestation." The State Governments either find their scheme confined within narrow limits or rendered abortive by the conflict with vested rights which should never have been accorded, or find themselves compelled to repurchase at a heavy cost the lands necessary for their purpose." In logical pursuit of the advantages of government ownership, the policy of Forest Reserves was introduced into Ontario.

"The immediate aim of the Commissioner of Crown Lands in proposing the Forest Reserves Act was the reclamation of waste areas of Crown Lands that had been burned over after lumbering, and were unsuited for settlement, but having also in view, no doubt, the ultimate extension of the system of reserves to lands on which the timber has as yet been unsold, and to areas now under license, unfitted for agriculture.*

Mr. Southworth tells us in his address before the Canadian Forestry Association in 1902 that the first step in the policy of so setting aside areas manifestly unsuited for cultivation was the creation by statute in 1893, of the Algonquin National Park, now comprising 1,109,383 acres, of land and water in the Nipissing District, primarily intended for a game preserve. The Forest Reserves Act, 1898, empowered the administration to set apart such tracts as might from time to time be deemed advisable, and soon 80,000 acres in the counties of Frontenac and Addington were reserved, and 45,000 in Sibley township, on the north shore of Lake Superior; and in 1901 the very important pine region of 1,400,000 acres around Lake Temogami was added. "Although," he says, "we have at present only 2,634,000 acres in Forest Reserves, I do not think it unreasonable to expect that ultimately that Crown Forest of Ontario will comprise fully 25,000,000 acres, a State forest larger than is possessed by any other country I know of. What a forest of this size, owned by the people as a whole, will mean to the revenue of the Province when placed under scientific control and worked, is difficult to conjecture.....The composition of this forest is such as to make it the most valuable in the whole world. While it contains a large quantity of spruce and birch, the paper and furniture woods par excellence, it is the natural habital of the most valuable tree of them all, the lordly white pine, the tree which has already been so largely the cause of the unique position occupied by the Province of Ontario in being a country without a debt and where the people are not subject to any tax for state purposes."

In 1900 some 1,250,000 acres, unfitted for agriculture, were reserved in Manitoba, west of Lakes Winnipegosis.† The Dominion had set aside 1,000,000 acres under the name of The Riding Mountain Reserve some years previously, as the natural protection of the streams of that region, and more recently in Alberta, the eastern slopes of the Rockies, the foothills between the Bow River and the 49th parallel. The Province of Quebec in 1895 set aside the

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*P. 29.

†All the lands north of township 38.

Laurentides Park Reserve, 1,640,000 acres, near the Saguenay ; and Trembling Mountain, 14,500.

British Columbia has recently had the Long Lake and Yoho Reserves added.

Yet, when it is remembered that our area is larger than that of the United States, and that our difficulties in creating forest reserves and natural parks are infinitely smaller than their's, it is not to our credit that after all they are far ahead of us in this respect. They possess no less than eighteen large forest reserves, covering about 20,000,000 acres, two of which, the Cascade Range of Oregon and the Sierra of California contain more than 4,000,000 acres. Of National Parks they have five, of which the Yellow-stone contains over 2,000,000 acres. All these parks and reserves are in the West, except the Adirondack Park. Here is our "lesson of history," but our opportunities call upon us to carry it out far more generously.

The Ontario system, while further advanced in order and care than that of the Dominion and the other provinces, is fundamentally the same. They, likewise, have inherited the leases, limits, stumpage tax and other details, and some have done something as commencements in Forest Reserve.

The deduction from Canadian experience, then compared with that of the United States, is that by the patriotic foresight of public men of a previous generation we have been placed in possession of the true general principle of our forest lands—permanent public ownership. It would be simple to show the beneficent working of public ownership also over the forests of Sweden, Germany and other European countries.

Let us examine briefly our present departures from that principle in whole or in part, the dangers of the future, the remedies and the problems involved.

CHAPTER IX.

A FOREST TENURE POLICY.

One of our past and again threatening abuses which the experience of the United States teaches us to remedy or avoid, is the granting, or continuation to execute past grants of valuable forest to railways and allied corporations, included in the railway land grant system.

The Dominion Government has ceased to make new grants of the kind since 1897, but it is continuing the execution of the grants of preceding governments, mainly of prairie, but now, like some years ago, looking towards timber land again. The result would be that some of our finest forests would in the end be found to be the private property, rigidly held, of a few large proprietors, a system which, according to American foresters, is to-day effectively preventing the United States from carrying out the beneficent and necessary processes of general forestry, and is depriving the people of the revenue and benefits thy might and should derive.

Similar reflections would apply to a large amount of favorably situated timber lands in the Province of Quebec, forming the wild-lands once belonging to the seigniories. When feudal tenure was abolished under the Act of 1854, the lands which were then still ungranted to tenants were given absolutely to the seigniories. A number of these have remained in woodland, and being in private ownership have been readily bought up by American paper makers and others for the purpose of cutting off and exporting the pulp wood, and disposing of the other timber. Little Nation seigniory is one of these, and that of Rimouski another. They should be returned to their proper place, which is the public domain, by means of expropriation,—a method which would pay well in the end, notwithstanding the extent of the public woodlands in the province since the seigniorial properties are all very advantageously situated.

A grave abuse applying to all our forests is their uncontrolled acquisition by aliens, which reaches enormous proportions, little suspected by the Canadian public. Something has been said of the acquisitions by aliens of our possessions in the former chapter on agricultural lands. But in our forests the evil is gigantic. If anyone will obtain access to a Quebec Government plan, showing

the areas of forest acquired in the region of the St. Maurice and its tributaries—perhaps the principal region for the production of paper-making wood in the immediate future—the American pulp forests being now quite inadequate and increasingly so, and if he will have the relationship of the various grantees explaned to him, he will find that, under various names, one of the highest monopolies, the International Paper Company, which squeezes the entire newspaper and book trade of the United States, has quietly bought possession of the best situated territory for pulp wood in that immense region. The limits of the company, in that district alone, comprise over 3,200 square miles! An allied association, The Laurentide Pulp Company, controlled by General Alger, of Michigan, and others possesses over 1,700 square miles, together with the strategic and valuable Grand Mere water power. The same American trust has acquired vast properties in other parts of Canada; as many other Americans have done, without even, as the Laurentide Company has done, benefiting the country by building a mill. Certain members of Parliament and Provincial Ministers seem untiring in their efforts to serve the purposes of these aliens, who are slaughtering our pulp resources. While in New York in 1901, I was approached by a financial man with enquires concerning a certain Quebec minister, who, it was stated, was concerned in a project to form a company of Americans and obtain for them from the government one of the best remaining water powers of the province and a thousand square miles of neighboring spruce limits!

In March, 1903, a deputation of the leading proprietors of the region waited on the Quebec Minister of Public Works to demand the construction of a dam on the St. Maurice, thirty miles above Three Rivers. Of whom was the deputation composed? Of G. F. Underwood, manager of the International Paper Company; George Colquhoun, of the Laurentide Pulp Company; R. F. Grout, of the St. Maurice Lumber Company; J. G. Durgon, of the Union Bag & Paper Company, Sandy Hill, New York; J. N. Bothwell, of the Burgess Sulphite Company, Berlin, New Hampshire, all Americans representing monopoly; with two Canadians of minor interest. I might relate numerous other instances, but will only add that I am informed that an immense amount of the best timber on the coast of British Columbia has been allowed to be slaughtered and carried away by American lumbermen without any appreciable return. All parties throughout the Dominion have been about equally to blame in these matters.

Perhaps the chief abuse or most real danger of all lies in the fact that all the most available limits, profitably situated—to the extent of some 60,000 square miles in Quebec alone—are in the hands of holders who regard them in the light of permanent possessions. When I have heard the language of these "proprietors" of limits, I have been involuntarily reminded of the great lessees of the public lands of ancient Rome, and the clan chiefs of Scotland who were but mere trustees for their clans, both of which classes in the end usurped the proprietorship of the holdings. Some of these limits were acquired generations ago for a few cents a mile for the pine. The pine crop has long since been cut, and the crop of spruce has become valuable. Such limits—some of them from one to two thousand square miles in extent—have been offered at millions of dollars to myself, representing certain business interests. As the forests increase in value these people are seeking to strengthen their monopoly, and a firm hand should be taken to put their situation in a proper light and protect both the people as the true proprietors, and other business interests which have a right to share the advantages.

Mr. Southworth* refers to the anomaly as "one of the problems confronting the administration in the extension of the Forest Reserve system."..... "Although timber licenses are only issued for one year, it has been the regular practice to renew them, as a matter of course, from year to year, so long as the conditions were complied with and the annual ground rent paid, excepting only in cases where the ground was needed for agricultural settlement. Relying on the good faith of the government, licenses have been transferred from one holder to another, the same as bank stocks, without fear that the government might exercise its undoubted legal right of cancelling the license at the end of the year. No better evidence of confidence in the continuance of this course could be adduced than the transfer of license at Ottawa a few days ago (1902), covering 129 square miles of territory which had been lumbered over at intervals during the past forty years. It was sold, I believe, for no less a sum than $655,000 by the then holder to Mr. J. R. Booth, of Ottawa.... The right to cut this timber was sold many years ago, the original limit holder paying fifty cents per mile for the exclusive right to cut, the timber itself, being subject to dues of $1.00 per thousand feet when cut. After the limit had been operated for forty years this exclusive right to cut

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*Canadian Forestry Ass'n. Report, 1902, page 28.

changed hands at the rate of over $5,000 per square mile..... The value of the stumpage is probably at least $6.00 per thousand feet, of which the public treasury only receives $1.00..... It is fair to say that the difficulty arising from the vested rights or claims of limit holders is not likely to obtain in regard to the territory included in future timber sales. While the auction system has been retained by the government, a definite term is fixed beyond which licenses will not be renewed. In the sales of the past two years the term has been fixed at ten years,* and although licenses are there limited, I cannnot see that the selling value has been affected to any great extent.."

Now, all this is wrong. The claims to so-called "vested rights" are without any foundation whatever; and the increased value strictly belongs to the people, and should be now adjusted, as every extra year of delay is not only an extra loss, but exposes their rights to a more confirmed encroachment.

Next, there ought to be a limitation of quantity licensed to any one licensee. The quantities permitted are in general too large. In British Columbia the limit is 1,000 acres.

A sample of overgrown concessions (which are held principally for speculation) is that of Gilmour & Hughson, on and about the Gatineau River, near Ottawa, comprising over 3,400 square miles, about a third of the area of Belgium. This is nothing but pure monopoly. It looks to imposing either a heavy penalty or absolute prohibition, for private ends, upon any enterprise establishing itself in the advantageous neighborhood of Ottawa, and requiring wood. Yet all the time this wood and its control really belongs to the public, whose interest it is to encourage and benefit by the establishment of such enterprises and to whom also belongs the very profit so demanded. The limits in question were originally paid for as a cut of pine, and the pine has all been long since cut, so that the original bargain has ceased to have any bearing.

The limits in question are, however, only an example of a number of others of a similar kind. At Buckingham, nearly 1,400 square miles are held by the Rosse's, of Quebec. The Prices', of Quebec, also hold similar limits to a vast extent in the lower parts of the same province. The Riordan Paper Mills, a branch of the International Paper Company—the American trust—hold, among others, 600 square miles on the Rouge. The estate Maclaren holds over 800 on the Lièvre. There can be no objection except the price, to the holding of what is in actual use or kept for necessary

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* In Ontario

In Quebec an understanding with the government exists for the same term.

reserve against fire losses, but all holdings, for mere speculation, should be cancelled whenever the government find real industries seeking to rent such limits for their needs.

What serious situations may result from this description of pretensions may be shown by mentioning the conditions of things now a matter of complaint on the western prairies. It is well-known that the vast proportion of what is now being settled in that region contains no large timber. As a consequence, the timber firms have combined to corner the building wood and raise the prices to something like three times their former level. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company has found it necessary to complain vigorously of the existence and effects of such a combine, and to threaten "that unless these interests consent to accept reasonable rates, the company will establish a large sawmill of its own and offer lumber, through its agents all over the North West, at rates within the means of those requiring it and especially to accommodate new settlers, who, finding lumber beyond their means, have felt discouraged." The connected fact to which I wish to specially call attention come to my notice in the course of my business. I was recently asked to take part in the organization of a North West timber trust to unite practically all the North West limits; and I was shown a map demonstrating that this timber lies mostly within one comparatively small area, a little north of the centre of the prairie country, and covering some 2,500 square miles. It was shown that a very few of the wealthy and far-sighted lumbermen of Eastern Canada had quietly acquired from the government the whole of these limits in large blocks. And the "commercial proposition was to unite them all into a North West Timber Trust, and control the needs of the country. Comment is unnecessary. The duty of the Dominion Government is clear. The people themselves are the proprietors of the very lands held against them. In what unfortunate position would they be if they had parted with that priceless advantage. Great honor to those men who have put and kept us in that position!

There is another abuse of a lesser character, but a growing one. It is the sale of considerable tracts to mere summer residents, usually bordering on waters. Such purchasers would be as well served by limitation of their titles to very long leases, say from 50 to 75 years, and by limitation of the quantity to from 3 to 5 acres, with communal rights over adjoining Crown lands not required for settlement. It is safe to say that the wants of practically all of the purchasers would be just as reasonably filled and satisfied with, say, two acres front by two deep, and public rights of passage, and fire wood in the Crown lands behind. A lease of fifty years for such villa lots would likewise serve all the purposes of such dwellers.

This results in saving the wood, and in reserving public ownership to the public of such an improved system may be imagined.

There is another aspect of the tenure of forests which should deeply appeal to our people. It is a form of that to which reference has been made in touching upon land tenure generally, namely, those incidental rights and customs which we now enjoy, arising from community of the forests and which it would be hardship to cut off in the future. These are jealously preserved in other lands. In Sweden, for example, the rights of the people to firewood where they exist, take precedence over all other rights. where they exist, even on private forests.

Although the forests in the organized provinces are controlled for the most part by the provincial governments it should be remembered that they all in reality are the property of the whole Canadian people. Governments and legislatures are but bodies of trustees, and each of the provincial governments is but a department of the general government of Canada; so that the entire pepole have a right to examine into the conduct of any one government towards such permanent matters as the tenure of public lands and trusts. I have sometimes questioned which system would be best,—to have such matters managed altogether by the central government so as to avoid provincial errors, or altogether by the provinces separately. Dominion control, were it to result in a perfect system, would be perhaps the most desirable. It must, however, be remembered that the forestry interests of the Dominion have up to the present been rather badly than well managed. It seems better to trust to natural emulation between the provinces to bring all forward to the standard of some such pioneer as Ontario, that province being far ahead to-day, and the rest having a tendency to copy its methods.

We have now gone over the general situation in the Dominion. The provinces differ greatly in some details of their position. Nova Scotia possessed about 4,000,000 acres of woodland in 1891, but since then nearly all belonging to the people has been sold outright to lumbermen and pulp merchants. It has been proposed that the Province buy back the woodlands from the private owners, and improve its bad lands.*

New Brunswick, out of a total area of some 17,500,000 acres, has left about 7,500,000 of public lands, about 6,000,000 of which are under timber license. The licenses were first for one year, then for two years, and since 1893, have been for twenty-five years.

An applicant may apply for as much ground as he desires. Provisions are made to prevent purely speculative holding. Good

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Can. For. Ass'n. Rep., 1901, p. 5.

fire arrangements exist. There are no Forest Reserves. Aliens are not restricted in any way.

In the Province of Quebec the public forest domain reaches the enormous total of 74,560,000 acres. Licenses are for one year, renewable from year to year on payment of the yearly rent. There is no limit to the amount. Americans have committed great devastation upon pulp wood, most of the available limits are sold, and much has recently passed into the hands of speculators. The licenses reserve to the people only a right to travel anywhere and make roads. No forest reserves exist except that at Trembling Mountain, which, however, is very small and is being encroached upon. The procedure by auction sales, stumpage, etc., is similar to the Ontario system. Pretension is made by holders to a perpetual vested right, and the extra value of old limits is also in consequence allowed by the government to be lost to the people. Still Forest Regulation Number 16 implies that the ground rent may be increased after the first of September, 1910 (license-holders "shall have up to that date the privilege of renewing their licenses at the same rate of ground rent," and the dues on timber cut are not to be increased before that date). Also limit-holders lose all rights over any lands granted to settlers.

The conditions of tenure in the Province of Ontario has been described. The forest area is about 65,000,000 acres. The system of this Province is as before remarked, conducted on a well-reasoned policy, although one capable still of much improvement. The forest reserves have just been extended by new legislation.

In Manitoba, the forest area is about 1,625,000 acres. Most of the remaining area and of the other Crown lands, are in the hands of the Dominion Government.

In British Columbia the area reaches the vast figure of 182,400,000 acres. Licenses are limited to one year and one thousand acres. But aliens have done much damage and the regulations are reported as not much attended to, that immense Province being in its infancy in such respects. A very recent beneficial change has been the adoption of Ontario's policy of a heavy export duty on saw logs, to compel their manufacture within the Province.

The Dominion Governments' treatment of Forestry has been erratic and wavering—on the one hand it has to show the formation of the Banff Park and eleven other reserves, and also a new and promising Forestry Department, while on the other it has allowed such movements as the timber limit monopoly of the North West. The regulations resemble those of Ontario, and in the end, from widespread criticism and responsibility, a model policy ought to be expected. One very bad thing in its composition is that several of its members are limit-holders. What can be expected of

such persons except the strengthening of their own position. Still, "owing to so large a part of the territory being still in the hands of the Government," says Mr. Stewart, the able and progressive head of the Department, "it is obvious that fewer difficulties will arise in carrying out a judicious forestry policy than if large vested interests had been acquired." He is thoroughly in favor of State ownership and reserves, and also of certain restrictions in all land patents.

In the Newfoundland Crown Lands Act there are same unusually good provisions side by side with some unusually bad ones. The holder must preserve at least five per cent. of all trees or wooded lands as shelter for stock;" and areas or tracts may be set apart "to be used as commons for pasturage." Licenses may be granted for ninety-nine years or longer; but not for more than one hundred and fifty square miles. Licenses do not debar any person from cutting for fisheries or ship-building, fire-wood, "and such like purposes." These are very important reservations and their underlying principle deserves attention.

Let us deduce from the foregoing account of the history and situation of Forests in the Dominion some of the outlines of a Forest Tenure Policy. Summing up the remedies apparent, they are :—

1. Abolition of alien proprietorship of forests.
2. Abolition of licenses to aliens.
3. Unequivocal assertion of public ownership of all public forests.
4. Expropriation of large private forests.
5. Extension of Forest Reserve system to include permanently all lands unfitted for profitable agriculture.
6. Express recognition, over all public and private forests, of liberal public rights of passage and recreation, and on public forests of pasturage, firewood and other generous rights.
7. A system of villa lot leases.
8. Thorough forest surveys.

To these should be added : A strenuous fire protection policy.

CHAPTER X.

MINE AND WATER POWER TENURE.

I.—Mines.

All that has been said concerning forest tenure applies with double force to our mines. Forests, if ruined or alienated, can be restored in growth and, perhaps, in the end recovered to some extent in ownership. But what is taken from a mine is so much gone, and often, as in the case of placer gold, cannot be replaced. It is so much the greater abuse then if aliens be permitted to grasp and ship away our treasures, without at least large returns to Canada. The State should own all, control all, and draw for us as large a share as possible, and above all, it should prevent any such thing as a "corner" against us in those minerals such as coal and iron, which are necessary to our general comfort and progress.

Notwithstanding enormous grabs permitted and abetted by our governments, we are still partly in a position to prevent such wretched and frightful conditions as the Pennsylvania anthracite monopoly, which starved the poor of America in the winter of 1902-'03, and cost over $142,000,000. If our governments do not put that lesson into action they will be guilty of crimminal neglect.

The general tenure on which our coal lands are granted to-day, is the most short-sighted of our public policies. Now, whatever may be done concerning gold, copper and such minerals, coal, salt and petroleum, being prime necessaries, should be treated on one basis only—that of absolute control by the people, and in no less form than strict proprietorship. Instead, these lands are practically all sold outright, and tend to fall into the hands of large monopolists. The great deposits of Vancouver Island are chiefly under the control of the Dunsmuirs. The best coal lands in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, covering prodigious areas, are in the hands of a few large capitalists. In the North-West Territories similar people are rushing to corner our large coal fields wherever discovered; and the fact that the areas are vast will be no bar to their speedy dissipation as national possessions, to the loss and misery of Canadians generally. This will not be from any necessity. The happy condition of the North-West farmer is, for the moment, so striking that such a dissipation seems doubly cruel to consider. What other land, in its national condition, is so gener-

ous to its children that its inhabitant can "go o he banks of the rivers and from there get all the coal he requires, in some cases at the bare cost of handling and hauling it home." * Between the Red River and the Rocky Mountains there are 65,000 square miles of coal-bearing strata. Let this "domestic mining" be also protected, like the rights of the public in Swedish forests, for it is one of the sacred rights of the people over their own estate!

There is a disposition of the Dominion Lands Act regarding mines in the Rocky Mountain Park, which might well be extended to all mines: "That no disposition of mines or mining interests in the said park shall be for a longer period than twenty years, renewable, in the discretion of the Governor in Council from time to time, for further periods of twenty years each, and not exceeding sixty years."†

Without such a policy, grabs, then combines, then a trust, and then alien control, will not less surely follow than night will follow day.

Already, throughout Canada, such holders exist as these:

The Dominion Coal Company controls practically "the whole of the enormous and valuable Sydney coal fields," except that

The Nova Scotia Steel and Coal Company owns "the valuable areas on the northern side of Sydney Harbours." The origin of these holdings, makes one impatient with all the old systems. First the whole of the minerals in Nova Scotia had been granted to the Duke of York. Next, in the early part of the last century an English company, the General Mining Association, bought from him a monopoly of coal mining in Nova Scotia. They did so little with it that in 1845 a vigorous agitation against such a monopoly began, resulting in freedom of private exploration for coal, and the opening in time of a number of collieries. Laws of Nova Scotia prevented the collieries from combining until 1892, when the Government was prevailed upon to permit their consolidation so as to control the great coal areas of Cape Breton, and they were granted, under the name of the Dominion Coal Company, a charter, and a lease for 120 years! One of the objects was "the avoidance to a great extent of unreasonable competition as regards selling prices!"

In New Brunswick very large areas of good coal exist, but these also are mostly under grab. The system is a twenty-year lease, renewable up to eighty years.

The Canadian Pacific interest own a great deal of the best fields in Alberta.

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* Atlas of Western Canada.

† Sec. 47.

The Dunsmuirs have all that is of much importance on the Pacific Coast, including the only anthracite that recently found.

All the anthracite near Banff, which is the natural supply of the country from the West Coast to Winnipeg, has been parted with.

It would be idle to enter into a complete account of the process by which our coal is rapidly passing from the nation's possession in vast areas, and for practically endless periods, leading to the inevitable trusts and corners. Whenever a new field is discovered, as recently about Edmonton, N.W.T., Central New Brunswick, or Banff Natural Park," a rush is made to corral it. Let us attend to this question and see that we settle it permanently as a Modern Nation. No mine should be other than leased, and fair control of rates and service should be stipulated at all mines.

The truth of the foregoing remarks has received confirmation almost as soon as they were written. A despatch from Ottawa, dated February 2nd, 1904, states that the Hon. Mr. Sifton, Minister of the Interior, has found it necessary to issue an order that all persons mining coal on Indian Reserves in the North West for sale, must sell at not more than $1.75 per ton to settlers. At the same time it is also announced that special regulations are to be framed respecting 25,000 acres of coal lands reserved in Crow's Nest.

Incidentally, it may be remarked that as the whole nation has a deep interest in its coal, such a necessity should be under Dominion and not Provincial legislation. In forming new provinces in the North West, and in dealing with the Railway Belt in British Columbia, it would be well for the Dominion to make such a reservation. Whatever is done, let us always retain control of rates in such products.

II.—Water Powers.

Concerning our water-powers I shall be still shorter than upon mines. Several grave abuses are current in regard to them.

In the Province of Quebec the Government is committing the incredible folly of selling them outright, and this is chiefly to Americans. The consequence is that some of the best possessions of the nation are gone, including Shawinigan, " the Niagara of the East," Gres, Grandmere and La Tuque, the keys of the St. Maurice—all to Americans, together with the control and possession of thousands of square miles of timber territory. It is safe to assert that even at Shawinigan, where activity has ben shown, the ultimate progress would be much larger under a generous government control than it can be under toll-taking company landlordship. The great powers are after all, but very few in number, and

are necessary to the welfare of vast portions of territory. It were a stupid folly enough then to heedlessly lease them ,but to part with them outright is a crime. Let it stop immediately ! Shawinigan, estimated at100,000 horse-power, cheaply developable, and within reach of Montreal as a market, was sold to a Government supporter for the paltry sum of fifty thousand dollars, and its Montreal output is now, in consequence, controlled by the power trust, which throttles the trade and the people of Montreal. Had the Government retained it the city would have been saved this oppression.

CHAPTER XI.

OTHER CONSTITUENTS.

Building Utilities—Nationai Railways — Limitations of Wealth — Patriotic Education—Coustitutional Foundations—Rights of Children— Old Age Pensions—Metric System.

Several other elements appear to me to form part of the legitimate programme of a Modern Nation, although none is so pressing as those described. As near to public ownership of public utilities as our situation will justify in practice is a line along which we should work. We should remember, however, that we can only succeed in business if we are capable of business management, and that communities are no more exempt from this rule than commercial men. What will be a success in one, because of the character of the people or the size of the community, would be a sure failure in another. On two things, however, the Dominion Government ought to enter. One is the ownership of all long distance telephone lines, which should be served like the Post Office. The other is ownership of a system of National Railways, owing to the vital nature of transportation in a country of the extent and circumstances of ours. To no other country perhaps except the Russian Empire, is transportation so vital a matter, and in no other way can this natural monopoly and inevitable ultimate trust be satfactorily controlled. Such a power is too mighty to be the private master of so large a part of our citizenship as will be its employees and clients,—practically the whole people. As freedom is the first of necessities, the only safe master of so many is the State. The objections made are all curable. Because our own short Intercolonial has been somewhat expensive is no proof that economy could not be sufficiently introduced into such a service on a large scale, and it may well be added that no such complaints have been made of the rates of service of the Intercolonial as of the private roads, and certainly never the complaint of extortion, or of preferring a foreign terminus to a Canadian. And because the lines in Australia have been open to some temporary labor difficulties is no argument when it is considered that no such difficulties exist in many other countries with such railways, and that an efficient postal service has been carried on in every civilized nation. Of one thing, let us be certain—that neither the private nor the state system will be without serious defects until we raise the standard of the indi-

vidual citizenship in public spirit and personal conscientiousness. Then alone we shall no longer have to complain of either greed on the part of private owners or inefficiency through public servants. But until then we must ask ourselves from which of these the people have most to fear, and the ultimate answer, I think, is plain.

Abolition—or, as we should make it, prevention—of monopolies in the necessities of the people must not, however, be turned into a war upon wealth and private initiative. Such a war would be not only unwise and wrong, but doomed to early failure. To maintain freedom, not to destroy it, is the proper aim—and to limit freedom of trade only where its liberties are used to destroy freedom of trade and other liberties. The point for interference is where monopoly begins. Not only our personal prosperity, but our public and private culture are at present founded on these incentives, and it is sufficient to check them only in those occasional excesses and forms which render them sources of danger to the public. All history shows that hereditary accumulation of wealth is one of these, of which we have discussed a form in hereditary accumulation of land. Already the millionaires of the United States have succeeded in making their great fortunes hereditary, with results in all directions injurious to the common stores of the national resources. Anti-entail laws are, therefore, a fair and requisite part of the constitution of a Modern Nation. In this we are on well-travelled ground, for we have ample lessons of history to guide us, and even the old French law of the province of Quebec limiting succession to property to three degrees or steps of entail. Such a law, however, ought to go still further, and the present law of France dividing a succession by law and not by will is a far better safeguard. Wealth—the liberal prizes of life in the beneficent channels of trade, manufacture and development, enabling as many as possible to obtain leisure and higher culture so as to serve the State,—is too necessary to make war upon, unless in its destructive excrescence. What we need to make war upon is poverty. What is a rich nation? Not one with a few overgrown fortunes. The surplus of a large fortune makes its owner very little richer, and makes no one else so. The nation with no poor is the richest nation. Diffused riches count. Public reserve riches counts. Effective riches is that which serves the highest development of the whole.

Permanent defence of the freedom and property of our people will, however, require a deeper safeguard than legislation. Legislation is, by its nature, only external and can be neglected and evaded. But if the heart and the intention of the individual citizen can be universally or even widely reached, the inner solution

of the question—the only permanent solution—will be attained. Such a formation of the popular character can only be attained by special training of the young in duty and public spirit. Hence the vital institution of a Modern Nation will be an organized element of Patriotic Education. In Japan such a system has produced the marvellous self-abnegation of the Japanese people. In the schools, the colleges, the churches, and on all possible occasions we should insist on public spirit, which is another name for unselfishness. Without it, inspiring the nation on a large scale, our progress will be like the climbing of a cliff of dry sand. We shall be met at every point by greed, fraud, intrigue, apathy.

Meanwhile, thank God, there is plenty enough of honorable men in public life to carry through the first steps towards saving the situation to a large extent for the present generation. To them the people should appeal, should strengthen their hands, and call for a halt in the dissipation of our resources, and of the natural advantages of a virgin national career.

But what if, after all we can do, we should still see the process continue ? What if our voices are raised in vain, and we cannot obtain the laws and institutions requisite to protect the weak of future generations, for whom we hold their heritage and ours in trust ? What if, even after obtaining good laws and institutions, we are betrayed, as we have too often been, by base and venial representatives ? In that case, it is a constitutional question which rises—of the profoundest importance to us. I have heard some of the most absurd principles propounded in the legislatures as founded on the British Constitution, and I have seen its trivialities of form made much of. But deeper than all written and all traditional constitutions is the unwritten constitution—the fountain of all constitutional principles—no other than Right itself! That is the rock-bottom of our constitution and nothing can deprive us of our recourse to it in rock-bottom matters. If a partner in a business firm found the agent of it in a distant city, selling away the assets for a song to his friends or to buyers who knew better or to promoters for stock in their enterprise, he would serve notice upon all the parties and refuse to allow either himself or the absent partners to be bound by the transaction. Now, parliamentary representatives, notwithstanding a great deal of bombast to the contrary, are simply agents. We have said that "no generation has a right to disinherit another from its share in the property of the nation," and that no government can deprive it of this natural right. I will raise my voice here and now, and I know that it speaks for hundreds of thousands of other Canadians—as a notice for myself and partners to all such acquirers and their assigns—that they be held strictly to account for every part of the national

heritage or franchises so acquired, that their title is taken at their their own risks of revocation and that they must discount their acquisitions by the expectation that what they have acquired is subject to be demanded back and that in no grant by the public do we grant a power to monopolize. If a few such personal protests for posterity be made in parliament and elsewhere, they would some day be found to have largely helped in correcting the kinds of title just mentioned.

One thing we need is a profound treatment of our Constitution adapted for Canada, and the assumption when necessary of the office of amendment by ourselves. The forms of England, and many of the accretions of subsidiary principle are local to Great Britain and obscure the real spirit. But if the spirit itself of the British Constitution be after all insufficient for the purpose of a Modern Nation, then let us have a variant of it for ourselves. What have we to do with lords and bishops, or those antiquated British land laws, which an eminent legist has styled "the Herculaneum of feudalism?"—or the solemn hypocrisies which, in England, skulk in the penumbra of the doctrine of "vested rights." With the King we have to do, as historic perpetual president, but how far and in what sense are we ready to accept the assumption that any of us is "socially inferior" to the gentleman who so nobly fills that office? and a fortiori to his friends and inferiors. We profoundly respect the office, and the man, his race, his mother's memory and the historic, national connection involved, but would King Edward himself expect of us the theory as it is read in England? The Modern Nation is essentially a democracy.

And so what have we to do with little titles, the tail end of a system not our own, and often beneath the dignity and real services of the men who get them? These pallid imitation Anglicisms are parts of an exotic and provincial system.

I hope these little "points of order" will not detract from the asseverance of pride felt in being a citizen not only of Canada, but also of the Empire—a privilege and source of duties which it is meant in no way to lessen, while discussing the internal problems of our land. As trustees of our national heritage we are trustees not only for ourselves but in a wider right for every British citizen, in the same manner as they are trustees for us, for in that wider right the whole with its most glorious history and its world wide grandeur, is the common heritage of us all. It is particularly imperative on Canadians to cherish the Imperial Idea. It has ben well said that the great home of the Anglo-Saxon race in the

future will be North America. For the same reasons the vast territory of Canada should be the future centre and dominating portion of the British Empire. The truth of this proposition will be apparent from the enumeration of our capacity for supporting population, and a glance at a map of the Empire will then make it still more evident.

I wish I could add a few words on the Rights of Children, on Old Age Pensions and on the Metric System. These and others are plain subjects for action, and perhaps to mention them will be sufficient to suggest their place in the conception of a Modern Nation.